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EDITORIAL

DR. H. PAUL DOUGLASS, whose surveys of religious conditions in city and country are giving him a distinct place among the social scientists of the nation, has recently completed a survey of the churches in Springfield, Massachusetts. It surpasses in many respects

Protestantism Has a Fighting Chance

of the Springfield churches: "It may be said with some color of justification that the survey shows protestantism in Springfield to be an organized religious movement of doubtful success with incoherent and inefficient units working with poor command of the facts, and deficient in the moral qualities that lie under institutional strength; that the churches are illogically related to the city geographically, having only one common principle consistently followed, namely, to get as far off as possible from the socially undesirable areas. The best interpretation which the survey can put upon the situation is that Springfield protestantism has a fighting chance." One wonders whether Dr. Douglass' esti-

his well-known St. Louis survey for a clear picture of religious conditions in the city. Speaking of his findings, Dr. Douglass says

mate of the situation in Springfield might not be generalized for the whole of America and indeed for the whole of western civilization. The same individualism, the same lack of unified strategy, the same tendency to consort with the prosperous and to shun the lowly which Dr. Douglass establishes as characteristics of Springfield protestantism are common characteristics of protestantism in the world. Yet there are moral resources in protestantism and new energies in social enterprise and common effort which in the world as in Springfield give protestantism "a fighting chance."

Ponder This Quotation For Awhile

IN AN ATTEMPT to reply to the editorial which appeared in these pages on political corruption in Pennsylvania, the Living Church, high church Episcopal weekly, undertakes to justify the prominent churchmen who were involved in the election scandals. Its opinion is that large expenditures in election campaigns are dangerous but inevitable. They imperil democracy but they are not sinful. Considering the high cost of publicity, it holds that three million dollars is a necessary expense when three million voters are involved. Has not the Living Church heard of the desperate campaign waged in Iowa between Senator Cummins and Mr. Brookhart in which Mr. Brookhart came out the winner with less than a thousand dollars of election expenses? Or has this paper not read the evidence which proved that the Mellon-Pepper forces "hired watchers" at a rate of ten dollars per watcher and, in critical districts, at the ratio of one watcher for every three votes? The question which more than any other must decide the future of religion in our modern civilization is whether religious sentiment can be made to serve moral ends in the complexities of modern political and economic life. The complacency of the Living Church in the face of corruption which has shocked the nation gives little reassurance. "The Episcopal church," declares this journalistic interpreter, "differs from most of the communions best known to The Christian Century in that it is avowedly a church of sinners; and when one of its members sins, he does not find his associates drawing away from him in horror, much less does he find himself excluded from the church, but he finds sacramental and other provision available for access to the

throne of grace where sins are forgiven." Could any statement give a clearer insight into the perils of antinomianism which are always lurking at the door of religion?

Senator Borah Speaks On Nullification

SENATOR BORAH recently delivered in Atlanta, Georgia, a capital speech on the prohibition issue. Mr. Borah said: "There is no possible excuse for invoking nullification under a system of government like ours. There is no law which may not be repealed. There is no provision in the constitution which may not be rewritten or wholly expunged. To preach nullification is to preach lawlessness. . . . Under the constitution we are one people with a common destiny and a common purpose. Bolshevism in Russia, fascism in Italy, dictatorship in Poland, increase in arbitrary power everywhere and nullification openly preached in the United States—they are all whelps from the same kennel—they are barking at the same thing, namely, constitutional government." As the present campaign for prohibition repeal continues Senator Borah's speech will be referred to again and again as one of the few definitive pronouncements on this issue. Some observers have, however, already pointed out that there was a certain incompatibility between the sentiments of the senator and the place of his address. He spoke to the ministers of Atlanta, Georgia. There was a certain incongruity, we admit, in inveighing against nullification in a section of the nation where nullification has become a tradition and in emphasizing national union among a people not yet completely convinced that state sovereignty has not been unduly infringed. We cannot imagine that the senator was unconscious of this incongruity. We have an idea that he was trying to kill two birds with one stone. He was teaching the north a lesson in which the south is interested, and using the lesson to enforce another which the south does not like to learn. The Borah doctrine has its ramifications, and perhaps the senator is not afraid to have these ramifications brought to light.

What Do the Movies Do To Our Children?

IN A SINGLE issue of a city daily the "movie calendar" records the following pictures as the attractions available: The Other Woman's Folly, Outside the Law, Fascinating Youth, Lady of Leisure, The Seventh Bandit, The Sporting Lover, Business of Love, Two Gun Man, Eve's Leaves, Bachelor Brides, The Lady of the Harem, The Love Thief, The Dancer of Paris, Old Loves and New, Race Wild, Footloose Widows, Son of a Sheik, Artists' Night Club, Silken Shackles, Free to Love, and So This Is Paris ("Satire on married life in the exotic French capital"). Among the side attractions listed are a Red Hot Charleston Contest, a Bathing Beauty Revue and a Popular Beauty Contest. Evidently the much heralded success of Mr. Will Hays in making the movies fit for Sunday school children must be described as comparative. If Johnnie and Susie go to the theatre with father and mother, or without them, at least once a week their chances of escap-

ing mind-contamination would not appear to be very good. If youthful crime is increasing, if young people betray a premature sophistication and an undue concern for luxury, leisure and excitement, and if dangerous streaks of eroticism are to be discerned in the mores of adolescents, perhaps we had better look to the movies for the explanation. No, this is not an argument for censorship. Censorship may or may not solve the problem. It is a dangerous weapon which creates almost as many problems as it solves. A family censorship in behalf of the children may be the most fruitful preventative against this mind poison just at present. Certainly the movie is one of those pieces of mechanism with which modern civilization abounds which has not yet been disciplined to serve the interests of character and culture.

George Bernard Shaw Is Seventy

WHEN GEORGE BERNARD SHAW celebrates his seventieth birthday one is prompted to look back upon the long path of history which separates us from the Victorian era. Mr. Shaw as a young man was a leader in the revolt against Victorian sham and hypocrisy. In his maturity he became the symbol of our age with its hatred of humbug and its hunger for honesty. Mr. Shaw is still the great debunker and in his old age discovers himself an institution. The world is still full of shams, of course, but they live in the shadows. Where the light shines the age knows its faults well, all too well. The light which illuminates our darkness is the kind of calcium light which not only discovers blemishes in the face of men but accentuates them to hideous proportions. The peril of our day is not hypocrisy, but cynicism. Shaw and his followers would have been unable to create the atmosphere of disillusionment which characterizes our generation if the war had not helped them. Perhaps the war deserves more credit and blame than they. The nineteenth century lasted not until 1900, but until 1914, and perished when its self-deceptions were exposed in one tragic denouement. What the age needs now is to be saved not from sentimentality but from sophistication. Shaw's sardonic wit is still the scourge of human foibles but in his mellowed age he shows some signs of becoming a major prophet. For the mark of a real prophet is to be pessimistic when the world is optimistic, and to be optimistic when the world inclines to despair. In his latest works there are evidences of a budding faith. He still laughs at men, but there is a twinkle of love and understanding in the laughing eyes. That twinkle may be the symbol of a new era as important as the post-Victorian day.

A National Estimate of Certain Men of Wealth

RESPONSIBLE AMERICAN BUSINESS MEN should reflect on a law passed, almost without comment, by the recent session of congress. Under its provisions subpoenas issued by a federal court can be served on Americans outside the United States by consuls, and when not obeyed make the persons concerned liable for contempt and to a fine not to exceed \$100,000. Everyone knows

what lies behind the enactment of this law. It is one of the most contemptible episodes in modern American industry. It took place only a year ago—just at the height of the period when various commercial bodies seemed to be competing to get into print with their idealistic codes of conduct. It disclosed men high in the business life of the country, wanted as important witnesses in the Teapot Dome suits, by which the nation was attempting to obtain redress for betrayal at the hands of its own trusted servants, evading such service by fleeing the country. And every attempt which was made to bring these men back from their hunting trips in Africa and their health retreats in southern France, or to secure their depositions while abroad, met with failure. Lacking this testimony, the nation's case could not be made. Men who had walked about with dirty money in little black bags in this country went scot free, because other men, business leaders, refused to come into court. Now congress has taken this drastic means of securing by law what an honorable man's own conscience would have required. If big business wants to know why it is held under suspicion, it will do well to consider this new law, and what lies behind it.

Whisperings in the Mulberry Trees

MAKE NO MISTAKE about it; the political calm which has enveloped this prosperous country for the last six years is about to be ripped wide open. The signs are too numerous for neglect. Here, for example, is William Allen White, lamenting in his Emporia Gazette "These Dull Days," and trying to say that there are no significant portents on the horizon. Mr. White's own words are a portent: "The spirit of our democracy has turned away from the things of the spirit, got its share of the patrimony ruthlessly and has gone out and lived riotously and ended it by feeding among the swine. . . . We have not come to the turn of the lane. The manifestations in Iowa, in the Dakotas, and in Wisconsin are sporadic, much like the manifestations of the Grangers in the seventies, or the Greenbackers in the eighties. There are little isolated dust storms on the desert, whirling spitefully, but meaning little except as evidence of a gathering storm which is not yet even upon the horizon. The nation has not yet been shocked out of its materialism. And, of course, Coolidge is a tremendous shock absorber. His emotionless attitude is an anaesthetic to a possible national conviction of sin, which must come before a genuine repentance, and works meet unto repentance. No big figure looms on the horizon who is going to shock us into a realization of our deadly lethargy. Jim Watson can't; Nick Longworth can't; Nicholas Murray Butler can't. We have just got to grind along and develop our man, and it is a long, slow task calling for all our patience. How long, oh Lord, how long! What a joy it would be to get out and raise the flaming banner of righteousness! Instead of which we sit in our offices and do unimportant things and go home at night and think humdrum thoughts, with the gorge in us kicking like a mule all the time! What a generation!" Read the three closing sentences again, and then ask how "long" a time and "slow" a process it is going to be before something

happens in the part of the country for which Mr. White speaks.

Young People's Work By Young People

THE BAPTIST YOUNG PEOPLE'S UNION has hit upon a revolutionary idea. It suggests that church organizations of young people be run by young people! The notion is so breath-taking that one hesitates to report it in other ecclesiastical domains. But it has this in its favor—the Baptists are trying it, and it works! The young people's society of that denomination held its annual convention on the Pacific coast this year, but the evidence of a national interest and influence was clear. The convention was presided over by a young president; its sessions were moved again and again by the words of young speakers; when it came to choose officers for the coming year it put the control wholly into the hands of youth. The oldest member of the executive committee which holds the real authority in the B. Y. P. U. is a preacher in a Chicago suburb who hasn't been out of his theological seminary more than a dozen years; the average age of the entire committee is under twenty-six! The comparison between such a group and the revered and mellowed doctors of divinity who compose similar bodies in other church organizations of youth would be comic were it not for one thing. The Baptist society, under its immature leadership, gives evidence of a new access of genuine force, and it has been a long time since much was heard of genuine force in a young people's church society. The program of the recent Los Angeles convention was in striking contrast with the programs of other young people's organizations. The projects which the young Baptists have under way—such as their careful, national study of the racial situation—are in equal contrast. And the results likewise.

Europe Hates Us

IN PARIS they are mobbing American tourists. In England the Rothmere press is printing a series of daily editorials lamenting the greed of America. In the house of commons Mr. Lloyd George arises once more to declare that all of the present financial confusion in Europe is due to Stanley Baldwin's settlement of the American debt upon terms too generous to America. Universal cancellation, insists the former premier, would have been the only way out of Europe's difficulties. "There is," reports a correspondent, "a rising tide of hatred against America in the whole of western Europe." The American newspaper reader takes cognizance of these multiplying evidences of European disaffection and is puzzled. Was it not but a few short years ago that every European statesman and every casual European, lecturing in America, thanked us profusely for our generosity to the children and the needy of Europe and assured us that we were the moral leaders of the new day? It was but yesterday that Herbert Hoover with his gigantic relief schemes was the symbol of America to the European mind. What has happened since

then? The average citizen taking counsel with himself knows that he has not changed materially and the sudden volte face of European peoples leaves him baffled and hurt. So we are Shylocks now? Yesterday we were Santa Claus.

Perhaps these Paris street mobs should not be taken too seriously. France is excited and confused. Money is disappearing out of every Frenchman's pocketbook as if by evil magic. Someone must be responsible. Who is responsible? The man in the street, who is ever ready to give simple and melodramatic interpretations to complex historical incidents, must have a villain. Melodrama demands a villain, and the slightest circumstance may cast the most innocent bystander for that role. In the drama of the hour America is therefore the villain. If mental confusion has assigned us this role we may rest content in the thought that the play will be brief and the denouement satisfactory.

Let us, however, not rest too content. The melodrama of the Paris street mobs may be as brief as it is unjust; yet it may be the emotional by-product of a vaster drama, too complex to be comprehended in melodramatic proportions, and too fundamental to the life of the western world to be brief; a drama in which America actually emerges not as the villain but as the peril of western civilization. It is foolish to say that the American debt settlement caused the final collapse of the franc but it is not foolish to point out, as the astute European observers are doing, that the gradual centralization of the economic authority of western industrial civilization in the hands of American capital is becoming the most important fact in modern history. Since centralization of authority is always a dangerous development, this circumstance may well be regarded as the most perilous to the amity of nations.

The simple fact is that America has a power much greater than any individual citizen realizes and she is embarrassed by limitations of imagination and political intelligence in the exercise of that power. Pertinax, the brilliant Parisian editorial writer, has been pleading with his readers in the past few weeks of excitement not to regard America as a Shylock, shrewd and designing, but as a young giant, politically too ignorant to understand all the implications of his actions. The very fact that we are unconscious of our power is a proof of that ignorance. It was but yesterday that we were a young innocent, fearing the evil men of Europe. Now that we are in virtual control of the western world we still affect the innocence of childhood and we actually experience some of its emotions. We are somewhat like the grown man whose only religion consisted in an unfailing daily repetition of the prayer of his childhood:

"Now I lay me down to sleep
And pray the Lord my soul to keep."

There is an excuse for this ignorance and that excuse gives us a clue to the basic difficulties of modern life. The empire which we control is under our dominion not by the power of legions but by the force of economic circumstances. No average citizen can be expected to be conscious of the responsibilities of power when power is exercised by processes so imperceptible to the untrained eye. America is exporting about one billion dollars of capital to foreign nations each year. The instruments of this vast economic

power are not elected officials but self-appointed bankers. These bankers do not intend to be malicious but the forces with which they operate are perfectly impersonal. If they charge eight to ten per cent on private industrial loans, such a rate seems justified to them by the risks involved in the instability of Europe. To Europeans this policy, determined by quite impersonal economic laws, becomes the greed of a Shylock living off the poverty of his fellows. The tragic personal and historical consequences following upon impersonal economic processes is the major political fact of modern history. The principal problem therefore is the problem of bringing impersonal economic processes under the control of conscience. That is a problem for the whole world, but no nation faces it more acutely and with less adequate resources of imagination and political intelligence than we.

We refused to entertain the idea of debt cancellation at a time when debt cancellation might have been used to bargain with Europe on disarmament. In time we came to virtual cancellation and now rightly feel aggrieved that Europe, which benefited by our generosity, should turn upon us in ingratitude. What we fail to see is that debt cancellation became an American policy when big capital realized that the cancellation of government debts would encourage the negotiation of new private loans. The Italian commission, which secured such favorable terms on the government debt, went to Wall street on the same afternoon it left Washington and negotiated loans on what may well be termed exorbitant interest terms. Our political generosity avails us nothing as long as America's economic empire is pressing tribute out of industrial dependencies all over the world. It is not easy to find a way to avoid this. Europe needs our money to prime the pumps of her industry. Shall we withhold it? If we do not, shall it be advanced on anything but "business terms"? But if advanced on these terms it will aggravate Europe's poverty and our inordinate wealth. The fact is that the world has never known such a disparity of wealth as now exists between Europe and America. That is a circumstance which colors every political problem. Economic policies which might seem just under ordinary conditions become unwise under these circumstances. Political wisdom which might suffice in ordinary international relations appears to be unimaginative ignorance in the light of this fact.

It might be well to illustrate this point by a very concrete incident. In the closing moment of the last congress it required just sixteen minutes, virtually without debate, to vote \$85,000,000 for aviation expansion. Not one out of ten American citizens is aware that this sum has been authorized for such a purpose. American wealth made it possible for an administration, priding itself upon an economy program, to authorize such a military expenditure without creating a ripple of interest in public opinion. European journalists regarded that incident with cynical admiration. A similar step in Europe would have been occasion for prolonged parliamentary discussion and international reverberations. America is unconscious of having aggravated the race for armaments at this particular point. That is why America can continue to offer good moral advice to Europe from the vantage point of child-like innocence.—

only to produce a sneering and cynical reaction among the beneficiaries of that advice.

"In the complexities of modern international politics," declares Mr. J. L. Garvin, the astute editor of the London *Observer*, "the greatest dangers arise from the actions of men who do what is right without inquiring what is wise." The naive moral simplicities which have informed our American life are insufficient for the responsibilities which we now carry and the complexities in which we move. Our love must "grow more and more in knowledge and all discernment." European peoples are raising the cry of "American imperialism." Let us confess it; American imperialism does imperil the world if we do not acquire the intelligence to gauge the political and historical consequences of the impersonal economic power in our hands. Pertinax is right. There is no malice in our hearts, but there is childlike confusion in our minds.

The Storm Breaks in Mexico

THE CONFLICT between church and state in Mexico is not only an important political incident in a neighboring state but an event which is linked to the ages. To understand the temper of the church it would be necessary to go back at least as far as the drama which was enacted at Canossa one winter morning, and to appreciate the position of the government requires the tracing of historical lines at least as far back as the French revolution. The parties to the controversy are in short typical of the Latin church and of Latin liberalism. There can be little question but that the Mexican church, in common with the Latin hierarchy everywhere, has been an instrument of reaction. It has been an enemy of popular education and the Mexican government is ambitious to raise the peon out of the stupor of his ignorance. It has been involved again and again in political machinations some of which were in its own interests and some of which were in the interest of the aristocratic overlords of the Mexican people. In some parts of the country, it has not even taken its religious duties seriously. In Mexico, as in many states of Latin America, common law marriages are, for instance, very general because the fees of the church for the marriage service cannot be afforded by the peons. The church has arrogated to itself the most productive properties of the country so that before the revolution of Madero it controlled two-thirds of all productive property. It is not surprising therefore that in Mexico, as in other Latin lands, clericalism and reaction should be regarded as synonymous terms.

Neither can it be surprising if liberalism is inevitably tintured with anti-clericalism. The present Mexican government is a labor government. Perhaps it could be said that it is one of the most enlightened labor governments in the world. It has exhibited a poise not often combined with the spirit of revolt which characterizes proletarian movements. It is natural that the government, in spite of its general political balance, should express resentment against the reactionary tendencies of the church. There are indications that the government itself would have been satisfied

with measures less severe than those which have been taken. But Calles, like Herriot some months ago in his controversies with French clericalism, must contend with a left wing of his group which is satisfied with no policy which does not include active opposition to the church. If the church cries out against the injustices which this anti-clericalism writes into national law it would be well for it to remember that the spirit of the movement is an inevitable product of its own life and is to be found nowhere but where the Roman church has a religious monopoly.

This does not mean that the policy of the Mexican government is justified. It declares that it desires only to establish the type of separation of church and state which prevails in the United States. It surely knows that this is not the import of its laws. Its laws against the religious press are a serious infringement of the liberty of the press; its laws on church property amount to confiscation; its regulations against religious organizations restrict the freedom of assembly. The total effect of the regulations which went into effect on August 1 is such that the government cannot possibly succeed in enforcing them. Protestants who are inclined to laugh up their sleeves during this controversy and enjoy the discomfiture of a rival would do well not to express their satisfaction too publicly, for it is possible that our own co-religionists will suffer similar embarrassment in more than one corner of the world at any time. The fact is that some of the same issues which are raised against Catholics in Mexico today would be raised in China against protestants now if the government of China were strong enough to enforce its laws.

While one may have sympathy with the general purpose of the Mexican government to break the back of clerical reaction one can hardly condone the specific and ruthless measures through which that purpose is to be accomplished. Nor can one predict success for its efforts. Religion is not only purged but it is reenforced by persecution and there are evidences that the government policy is already driving thousands of nominal adherents back into the arms of the church. Every indication points to a long struggle with each side too firmly entrenched in a traditional position to give way easily. The government may succeed in breaking the back of clerical opposition to political progress. That is a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. But it will not, as it seems to desire, erase religion from the life of the peon. It will learn the same lesson that the bolsheviks are learning in Russia.

Because this is a struggle in which there is virtue on both sides it ought to be the interest of American liberals to prevent any kind of intervention. The American hierarchy is trying desperately to move our government to such a course, with slight hope of success, it must be confessed. We may sympathize with the church's defense of religious liberty, but we are too well aware of the prostitution of that liberty for political advantage in the past to give unqualified support to its present position. We may lament the extreme policy of the government but find the whole political alinement such that foreign interference will not only raise new political problems with which liberalism can have no sympathy but make all such interference appear to be prompted by a desire to support reaction. Roman Cath-

olic liberals regard this attitude of non-interference as incompatible with the ideals of tolerance which religious liberalism holds. Yet they are in a worse position, for they would support political reaction in the name of liberalism. The Mexican situation is an admirable example of the intolerable position in which Roman Catholic liberals are frequently placed. They may be opposed to political reaction when that reaction is purely secular. But as soon as political reaction is enmeshed with clericalism, as it invariably is in Latin nations, papal discipline closes their mouths. This is one of the difficulties which Christian liberals must face in the next months when the conflict in Mexico will become desperate and when lines will be sharply drawn. They have the duty on the one hand of resisting the exploitation of the controversy by protestant fanatics and on the other of seeing that an anti-clerical political liberalism is given credit for its political virtues and intentions. Every indication points to a conflict so desperate and extended that much grace will be required by all who are interested in it to prevent harmful reverberations of religious bigotry in our own nation.

The Observer

The Fascination of Philosophy

I THINK that the majority of inquiring and reading people would find philosophy one of the most fascinating subjects in the world, could they only have access to it and could they understand its terminology. For nearly everyone is interested in the meaning of life, the nature of the mind and soul, life's real purpose, the adjustment of the individual to society, the criterion of morals, the finding of the most perfect social and political order and the thousand and one problems that perplex society. And it is these problems with which philosophy has always dealt, striving above everything else to find a unifying principle in the universe. The trouble, so far as the average reader is concerned, is that the great systems of philosophy lie imbedded in great tomes which are so formidable to the average man that he has not the courage to attack them even were they accessible—there are ninety volumes of Voltaire, for instance—and that they are couched in a metaphysical terminology which only the elect can comprehend. Indeed, they were often written only for fellow philosophers to read, and had to be interpreted to the general public by the commentators. Sometimes the commentators were not more intelligible to the layman in philosophy than were the philosophers themselves.

That the people are interested in philosophy has been borne out by the fact that Dr. Will Durant's "The Story of Philosophy: The Lives and Opinions of the Greater Philosophers," has been selling since it was issued two months ago like one of the best sellers in fiction. Last week I found it impossible to get a copy. The publishers said they could not keep up with the demand, and this is a book of 600 pages devoted to philosophy! It bears out my contention and yet it should be said that Dr. Durant is a very lucid and charming writer, as well as a great student. He has begun with Socrates and Plato and continued down through such men as Aristotle, Bacon, Spinoza,

Voltaire, Kant, Hegel, Schopenhauer, Spencer, Nietzsche, Bergson to John Dewey, devoting a chapter to each of these great thinkers and at the same time devoting several pages to their contemporaries. Part of each chapter is given to the story of the life and education of the philosopher, a picture of his personality and a sketch of the time in which he lived, with its thought habits and dominant ideas. This makes the analysis of the great man's teachings more interesting and more understandable. I must say very frankly that I have not been enthralled by any book in months as I have been by this. I sat six hours with it at the first reading, utterly unconscious of where the train was or of what was going on. When I got home I grabbed the first chance to begin again. It ought to make the lives, opinions and teachings of the great philosophers the common property of all educated and thoughtful people. Dr. Durant has put the greatest thoughts ever uttered, and the theories of mind and matter that have determined the thinking of the ages, into language that anyone with a high school education can grasp, and has humanized knowledge by centering the story of speculative thought around certain dominant personalities.

There was one thing that struck me forcibly on every page of this book, namely, that there is nothing new under the sun. There is not a question we are discussing today, not even a phase of a question, that has not been discussed in every age by the great philosophers, and not a new political or social scheme that was not touched upon or advocated by Plato or Aristotle or Bacon or someone, and not an ideal we are urging today for a new world order that has not been hinted at in almost every century, and hardly a discovery in the world of thought and ideas that someone has not anticipated. It is an amazing thing and may be discouraging or encouraging, according as to how we look at it; discouraging if we think that all reforms upon which our hearts are set have been advocated for three thousand years without result; encouraging if we remember that the very thought that *all* the greatest thinkers have seen these principles clearly and emphasized them convincingly is sign of their being eternal laws of right, embedded in the spiritual universe and the soul of man, and for this reason bound ultimately to triumph.

Let me give just a few illustrations. Today we are hearing much about the education of the child. All sorts of new ideas are being advanced, all sorts of new methods in education being tried, all sorts of experimental schools being founded. Hundreds of books are being printed and I have read some of them; but as I read the chapters on Plato, Aristotle, Rousseau, Herbert Spencer and the others, lo and behold, here are all these ideas! We are trying them out as the ancients had no opportunity to do, but the ancients had the *ideas*. Plato did get a chance to try them on the youthful Alexander—it will be remembered that Plato educated the boy—with the result that he became

Alexander the Great.

Most people think that evolution was discovered by Darwin, or Lamarck or Wallace, and made popular as a doctrine by Spencer and Huxley. These men were not the fathers of the theory at all. They ranged great masses of data in its support, but away back in 450 B.C., Anaximenes described creation as a progressive process; Lucretius, 150

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B.C., in a beautiful poem on creation being a process of constant flux propounds the theory:

No single thing abides but all things flow,
Fragment to fragment clings; the things thus grow
Until we know and name them. By degrees
They melt, and are no more the things we know.

And in a prose passage in the book, "On the Nature of Things," he discourses at length on the elimination of species by the survival of the fittest. Emanuel Kant in 1798 in his "Anthropology" suggested the possibility of the animal origin of man and hints at the survival of the fittest in the evolutionary process. So one might go on. There are some who would include the apostle Paul in this list, for did he not in a noble passage, see a picture of the long groaning and travail of creation eventuating in the sons of God?

One thing that especially impressed me was that from Voltaire on, with the exception of Nietzsche, the great philosophers have all been pacifists of the most radical type. (I want to come back to this at another time). Voltaire, Kant, Rousseau, Schopenhauer, Herbert Spencer, all of them, write pages against war as folly, wickedness, suicide, mass-murder, and survival of barbarism in the human breast. I will quote from Voltaire only, for his words can be matched from any other philosopher in the book: "War is the greatest of all crimes; and yet there is no aggressor who does not color his crime with the pretext of justice." "It is forbidden to kill; therefore all murderers are punished unless they kill in large numbers and to the sounds of trumpets." But not only are all these men haters of war, and not only are they saying what all we who are working for the outlawing of war are saying, but they put forth constructive measures which have in them practically everything we who advocate societies of nations, parliaments of man and world courts are planning. There is little in all our new international institutions that cannot be found in Emmanuel Kant's "Eternal Peace," Rousseau's "Social Contract," and Hugo Grotius' "Rights of War and Peace."

I might go on but this is enough. Our socialist brethren are saying nothing that is not discussed in Plato. Marriage and divorce are discussed by all these philosophers and everything being advanced today is as old as Socrates. There is hardly any panacea being tried by society to settle the vexed problem of industry and the relation of labor and capital that has not been advocated by some philosopher from the beginning of civilization. Even birth control is as old as Plato. This is very interesting and significant and worth much thought. The Greeks practised it very efficiently by infanticide. Plato holds that abortion is more humane, but believes in it as a method of breeding. Only the physically and intellectually fit should be allowed to have children. But Plato ran up against the problem the modern advocates meet at every turn: the people to whom they want to offer birth control do not want it—they want children. The people who ought to have children know all about birth control and use it. All the philosophers write of Utopias, and they are marvellously like those our dreamers of today are dreaming. All dream of brotherhood and their dreams are the same dreams that we of today are cherishing.

FREDERICK LYNCH.

Keeping Young Together

A Parable of Safed the Sage

HERE IS A CITY that doth bathe her feet in the waters of the tideless Adriatic, and the name of that city is Venice. And I and Keturah were there, and we bought Paintings. And there was a Bright Water Colour which showed a Workingman and his Wife, and their ages might have been threescore. And he was coming in and giving her a string of Coral Beads, and chucking her under the chin. And she was reproving him, yet was she pleased.

And I said, Keturah, dost thou know what she is saying?

And Keturah said, I know right well. She is saying, Thou foolish man, dost thou not know that I am sixty and not sixteen?

And I said, Thou hast answered discreetly. And he is saying, My dear, thou art as young and fair to me as ever, and thou shalt verily wear the beads which I have brought to thee.

And Keturah said, I have heard like words many times.

And I said, Keturah, I will buy this picture.

And I bought it.

Now Keturah had in her own room no pictures save what she called her Art Gallery, namely, many framed portraits of her children and her grandchildren, and it may be one or two of her Husband in various stages of his Chequered Career.

And I brought that Water Colour to her room. And she said, Take it away, for here will I have only the Family Portraits, and some new ones every year.

And I said, Mehercule, I will have my own way in this house now and then. This also is a Family Portrait.

So we hung it there, and there it still doth hang.

Now I have friends who be married, and who lovingly call each other Old Girl and Old Man, and such like names. And I will not reprove them, for they understand each other. But with me and Keturah it was never so. For I never knew any name for her that indicated that she had grown older since first I knew her.

And now and then she would say unto me, Thou must not call me by such names as foolish young men give to their sweethearts, at least thou shouldst not use such names where folk can hear thee, lest they think thee as foolish as I know thee to be. For other folk do esteem thee a wise man.

So I and Keturah did ever speak to each other not as two Elderly Folk but as I have said. And when our friends said unto us, Ye are unto each other as the poet and his beloved to whom he spake, Grow old along with me, the best is yet to be, we did not assent.

Now of those arts of the Beauty Parlour whereby Old Women seek to look like Flappers, Keturah practised them not. Neither was there need that she should do so. For albeit her hair grew white her heart was young.

And the Water Colour painting with the man threescore giving his wife the Coral Beads still is among the Authentick Portraits of our Family.

Miss Royden's Church

By Michael Graham

“THE GUILD HOUSE? Oh yes! straight along Wilton street . . .” Stand any Sunday evening outside Victoria station, in the heart of London, and you will see one taxi driver after another point the way to the Guildhouse, Eccleston square. Five years ago this church was unknown except to the residents of the immediate neighborhood; now it is a building of international fame and every Sunday Londoners and visitors from all over the country and the world flock to it in such vast numbers that it has been found necessary to put up a notice “House Full,” and thus save the stewards—incidentally all women!—unnecessary labor in refusing admittance after every available nook and cranny has been filled.

COLOR AND HARMONY

Outside this Congregational church—for such it was—presents the dinginess of any building blackened by London's smoke. But step inside for one moment and you will be surprised at the contrast. Cream-colored walls, royal blue baize doors and curtains, a blue and orange striped cushion resting on the edge of the pulpit, and most decorative hanging lamps delight the eye. If you have the patience to sit down you will presently see mounting the platform, below the pulpit, a figure dressed in a black gown. This is none other than the famous composer, Mr. Martin Shaw. In his delightful and courteous manner he will ask the congregation to sing for him the hymns and chansons to be used in the ensuing service. Mr. Shaw's belief that beauty is an essential form of religious expression; his horror at the bad music, badly sung in most churches, has led him to seize the opportunity, offered him by Miss Royden, of teaching her congregation to sing good music and to sing it well. So every Sunday the enthusiasts arrive early and with Mr. Shaw, whose patience, I am bound to add, is equal only to his genius, go wholeheartedly through the musical items of the service. They are assisted by a piano, a quartette, several violins and one or two 'cellos.

This serious business over the congregation settles down to wait for the opening of the service. Talking—not alone in whispers—is allowed, indeed encouraged, for the services held every Sunday in this church go by the splendid name of “Fellowship Services.” Fellowship is at the very heart of them, and since to make friends it is necessary to talk, talking is encouraged not only before the service but also while the offertory is being taken. The liberty to talk freely at stated times has not been found in any way to destroy the quiet and serious atmosphere necessary to the worship of God, and it has certainly been the foundation of many a friendship. Over and over again Miss Royden receives letters from lonely folks in London and strangers from all over the world, expressing gratitude for the kindness and friendliness shown them at the Guildhouse.

To the fine spirit prevailing in this church we are enormously indebted to Miss Royden. It is her vivid and compelling personality, her unique intellectual courage, her fine

spirit, so sensitive and yet so fearless, her glorious humility and simplicity, her intense sympathy with the struggles and aspirations of humanity, that has made it possible for people of all classes and all creeds, of all beliefs and no beliefs, to meet together Sunday after Sunday to worship God in freedom, love and truth.

Miss Royden herself is a member of the Anglican church, but it is her firm belief that religion does not necessarily consist in the adherence to any particular creed, but in a loyal and devoted search for truth, which search, to her mind, can be as assiduously practised outside as inside the walls of a church. Because the church demands adherence to a definite creed from her followers many keen seekers after truth have found themselves without her walls, and for this reason Miss Royden—and the Rev. Percy Dearmer who was her colleague in this work for five years—decided to form no new sect but to hold a form of service to which all could feel free to come.

Miss Royden herself writes in the introduction to a little pamphlet entitled “The Story of the Guild,”—a Guild Fellowship has been formed open, free of subscription, to anybody in sympathy with the ideals of the Guildhouse—“We have hoped to present the Christian religion not only in greater fulness to believers, but in greater freedom to unbelievers. Believing the teaching of Christ to be the solution of all our ills, we desire to make it possible for doubters to come and listen without feeling that the mere act of coming commits them to acceptance of a creed they cannot hold. Consequently there is no creed in our form of service. It is partly liturgical (drawn from the Anglican prayer book); but there is a place for extempore prayer and a place for silence. If we use words at all (and we must do so) we are forced by the nature of things to use expressions and phrases from which some will dissent, but in the silence we can all unite in fellowship, and in worship of our God, whether we call him by that name or worship him as beauty or as truth.”

THE AFTER-MEETING

Immediately after the benediction, Miss Royden descends from the pulpit to the platform and holds what she calls an after-meeting. Those who wish to are given ample time to leave the church, while others remain behind to discuss with Miss Royden the subject with which she has been dealing. I cannot do better than quote again from Miss Royden's own writing as to the object of the after-meeting:

“In the old days when the parish priest was in many cases the only educated person in his parish, it was not unnatural for him, Sunday after Sunday, to lay down the law to his people. Now, this appears to us out of date. And this, of course, is especially true in a place where the preacher claims the right to preach on highly controversial topics. My congregation is aware that I feel bound sometimes to preach on political questions—even when they have become party political questions—if they seem to me to raise a moral issue. I could not however do this, and expect to

be heard with patience, if I did not give my congregation an opportunity of questioning or contradicting me. Accordingly, after the benediction, those of the congregation who wish to do so leave the building and the rest remain to discuss what has been said. They are not bound merely to question; they are free to add something to what has been said, to throw further light upon it, or in short to discuss as they choose. From the beginning I have attached very great importance to this after-meeting as I believe it to be a factor highly educational both to preacher and to people. We all learn from it, and not the least of the things that we learn is the habit of attention to people with whose point of view we profoundly disagree."

At this after-meeting, rich or poor, black or white, young or old, feel free to speak and are invariably listened to with patience and answered with courtesy, honesty and sincerity. No question is too trivial to be answered; too difficult to be tackled; no remark too simple to be listened to, no criticism too keen to be silenced!

ADDITIONAL MEETINGS

On Sunday afternoons the Guildhouse also hums with activity. As a result of Miss Royden's belief that religion is a force that should express itself through the life of a community, she has, with the aid of an extremely able advisory board, already organized courses of lectures on ideals

in politics, in science, in art, in the press, in business, and so on. "At these afternoon meetings, it is our hope to offer a platform on which politicians, journalists, scientists, artists, theologians, business men—all who are vitally concerned in some important aspect of human life—can come and tell us what they are aiming at and what they hope from their work. We do not ask from them orthodox views; we only ask that they should be sincere and idealistic."

Scientists such as Professor J. Arthur Thomson and Professor Frederick Soddy; politicians such as David Lloyd George, Lady Astor and J. Ramsay MacDonald; artists such as Professor Will Rothenstein, principal of the Royal College of Art, London, and Mr. Martin Shaw; journalists such as Henry W. Nevinson, famous war correspondent, and Owen Seaman, editor of *Punch*; business men such as Sir Thomas Royden, chairman of the Cunard company, and B. Seebohm Rowntree, have already responded to this appeal, and many more are taking, and yet more will take this opportunity of expressing the ideals by which their work is inspired.

The Eccleston Guildhouse is in truth the home of an unique experiment. Standing so modestly in one of London's hidden squares, it is playing a noble part in bringing to birth "the new heaven and the new earth" for which humanity is craving.

VERSE

Burbank

HE who conspired with sun, seed, sod,
Till finer forms arose,
Did he not live a life of God
In earth's green garden-close?

Who sowed his thought and stirred the clod
To serve a human need,
Did he not live the love of God
In faith, in hope, in deed?

MARY WHITE SLATER.

To Thoreau

UNSATISFIED, distraught with empty days
Of blind routine, which leave but little gain,
We seek your hut beside clear Walden lake
And beg of you to point out fresh, new ways
Through life's dear waste. Our spirits long have lain,
Death-stilled, amid the soulless marts. O shake
Us from our trance and lead us out to reap
The harvests of the eye: the spell of dawn;
The glory of high noon when daisy-gold
Makes gay the field; the stars' watch-keep:
These are the things our hearts must feed upon
If we would live, nor grow untimely old.
Show us to build beneath the open sky
Where we, still young, may watch the years go by.

THOMAS CURTIS CLARK.

Relearning

SUDDEN and sharp the fall to grief,
The way back rough and long,
In darkness finding again the way
To laughter—and to song.

CATHERINE CATE COBLENTZ.

Voices

VOICES, voices, they call to me:
"Here to the left." "There to the right."
"Go up the hill where you can see
The face of peace in a glow of light."

"Go, take your visions high in the air
And set your banner on a cloud.
Forget old men and their despair;
Forget, and go with head unbowed."

"Go with your brothers down the slope,
Humble and bowed to meet the test,
Where men in darkness faint and grope
Lacking the peace of hope and rest."

Voices, voices, they call to me.
One voice of all comes back again,
Calling, calling incessantly:
"Walk in the vale with suffering men."

RAYMOND KRESENSKY.

The Passaic Strike

A Study in Contemporary America

The following study of the industrial struggle now in progress in the textile mills of Passaic, New Jersey, and its vicinity, has been made possible by the contributions of many minds. Persons on both sides of the strike, and others not directly allied with either side but cognizant of significant facts, have supplied documents, given interviews, and in many

cases checked over the resulting statements. The work of collecting materials of all kinds has been under the personal direction of Miss Winifred L. Chappell, associate secretary of the Methodist federation for social service, while the actual manuscript has been prepared in the editorial offices of The Christian Century.

Passaic—An American City

HALF AN HOUR away from New York, on the main line of the Erie railroad, lies the city of Passaic. When the last national census was taken the population was found to be not quite 64,000, increasing at the rate of 16.6 per cent during the decade. The present population may, therefore, be somewhat in excess of 70,000. It is as varied a population as can be found in any city in the country.

The railroad cuts the town in two. On the west side is to be found a typical suburban development, in which comfortable homes stand in the midst of generous lawns, shadowed at this time of year by the branches of well-protected trees. Here live men who have their offices in New York, as well as the merchants, business executives and managers, and professional men of Passaic itself. Here stand the largest and most prosperous protestant churches. Here, in a word, is that comfort which the American "commuter" exacts in return for his inconveniences in living outside the community in which he works. A survey made by the United States bureau of education in 1920 showed that 9.9 per cent of the population of Passaic at that time lived in nearly half the total area of the city. It is this western half which is devoted to the pleasant homes of the fortunate 9.9 per cent.

On the east side of the tracks there is a different tale to tell. Here the same examination by government investigators showed almost half the population crowded into one-sixth of the city's area. It is a typical settlement of foreign-born mill workers. Drab houses are squatted as closely together as they may be placed; lawns and trees are few and far between; backyards are frequently hideous; the whole section is obviously devoted to just one purpose—that of affording shelter to a maximum of human beings at a minimum of cost. In 1920 the government reported that 64.8 per cent of the people in Passaic were foreign born, and that 87.6 per cent of these foreign born lived in this section of the city—technically the first and fourth wards. It was a social group with sinister possibilities, showing 23.8 per cent of the foreign born to be illiterate, and 15.8 per cent of the entire population of the city over ten years of age to belong in the same classification.

Passaic was then reputed by government investigators to be one of three cities in the United States having the largest percentage of illiteracy. There has not been much change since 1920. On the other hand, many of these houses have passed into the ownership of the workers themselves, showing that there is thrift here, and the desire to "get ahead."

This east side of Passaic—and in a way the whole city—is dominated by the mills. A few miles away lies Paterson, center of the silk industry in this country, and the scene of many labor struggles. But the great mills which lie along the banks of the Passaic river, and which control the beat of Passaic's commercial pulse, are not silk mills, but woolen. They compete, not with France and Japan, but with New England. And they compete among themselves. There is no love lost, for example, between the men who manage the Botany Worsted mills and those in charge of the Forstmann and Huffmann plant. But at the present moment these local rifts between the mill operators do not appear. The longest textile strike in the industrial history of America has intervened to weld together operators on one side and the heterogenous foreign born elements on the other. So that about all there is in Passaic today is "The Mills" and "The Strikers." Even the attempt to establish the presence of a third element, a neutral public group, has not, so far, succeeded. A so-called Citizens' committee, recently formed, has so far spent its energies seeking to discredit the strike leadership, and is therefore hardly to be regarded as neutral.

This Passaic strike is worth studying. Into it enter about as many elements as might ever be found in a single industrial conflict. Go to Passaic, and amid many things you will see: The aftermath of a typical American big business reorganization; the methods of concealing industrial control which mark modern business; the effort to placate dissatisfaction among the workers with welfare plans and the company union; the slimy trail of the labor spy; the indifference of a great part of labor to anything save the wage of the moment; the effect on the home of a less than living wage; the brutalities of uncontrolled woman labor; the readiness of industrial power to flout all civil guarantees; the relation between business and politics; the jealous-

ies which work within the labor movement; the irrational fear of an American community in the presence of anything charged with a communistic connection; the struggle of a sick industry to maintain its market; the inability of the church to intervene successfully in order to establish social justice. For many weeks *The Christian Century* has been watching the way in which these and other elements have been at work in Passaic. Now it is hoped that some appreciation of what that situation is may be passed along to the readers of this paper.

The Soil in Which the Strike Grew

AS GOOD A PLACE as any at which to begin a study of the strike of 1926 is with a study of the strikes which have gone before. Among these, the most notable was the strike of 1919. But all of them, from the first strike in 1912, left their deposits of future trouble. The strike, which is open industrial warfare, is like any other kind of warfare in that it is seldom finished without planting the seeds of later conflict. Strikes in Passaic have generally sought two ends: improvement in wages and the organization of the workers into some kind of union. Generally speaking, up until 1919 the strikes in Passaic gained the first and lost the second aim. Wages did go up; hours did come down. On both counts conditions in the Passaic mills—and in this study the term "Passaic" must be taken as applying, for convenience' sake, to the mills in the adjoining towns of Clifton, Garfield and Lodi which are also affected by the present strike—are about as good as they are anywhere. The employers will tell you that they are better.

But the previous strikes have not succeeded in organizing the workers of Passaic on a permanent basis. All sorts of labor bodies have tried it—the United Textile Workers of America, the Workers' International Industrial union, the I. W. W. None succeeded in getting a permanent organization. The closest the organizers ever came to success was right after the very successful strike of 1919, when the 48-hour week was won, together with a wage increase of 17 per cent. As a result of that strike, shop committees were recognized in practically all of the mills, and an independent local union, of which Mr. A. J. Muste, now head of the Brookwood Labor college, was the executive secretary, was organized. Later this became a local of the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America. This Passaic local of the Amalgamated gave every promise of becoming a permanent body, and as such it might have prevented much of the trouble of the present year. But it gradually disintegrated, and has been out of existence now for several years.

This failure to effect a permanent organization following the strike of 1919 is said by the strikers of 1926 to have been due to "an onslaught of the bosses." Perhaps it was. As we shall presently see, Passaic felt the full effects of the general open shop drive of 1920 and the period immediately following, complicated in her particular case with an unusually disintegrating form of labor espionage. But that is not the whole story. Officers of the United Textile Workers—the body affiliated with the American Federation of Labor—tell of another side. They

say that after the workers won their pay increase and their decrease of hours they had no interest in paying the dues necessary to keep a union going. The workers had what they wanted for the time being; why tax themselves further? There may be truth in the allegation; most of the workers in the Passaic mills are very ignorant. Even Matthew Pluhar, who was the local leader of the Amalgamated Textile Workers in those days, but who now keeps a little dry goods store in the nearby town of Wallington—the mills have no place for a spinner who is known as an agitator—even Pluhar says that the old union fell to pieces because its members would not support it.

Thus it comes to pass that in 1926 the workers in Passaic are once more on strike over just about the same issues which have caused strikes in the past. The official demands of the strikers are seven in number. The first three deal with wages; the fourth with the length of the week; the fifth with working conditions; the sixth with the blacklist; the seventh with recognition of the union. Strike leaders declare that it is this last demand which is holding up a settlement. They say that the first six demands might have been secured, at least in the main, months ago. But they say that the mill operators are standing on their refusal to recognize the new union—known, while the struggle is still on, as the United Front Committee of Textile Workers of Passaic and Vicinity*—and that until that recognition comes they will not go back. Nor is this a wholly unwarranted description of the situation. As will be shown later, the mill owners would probably not amend it seriously, except to say that it is the present leadership of the new union, rather than the union itself, which they will not recognize. Yet it must be remembered that these owners have in the past consistently refused to recognize any union, even the conservative United Textile Workers affiliated with the American Federation of Labor.

Pay in the Passaic Mills

WHEN YOU COME to the subject of pay, you are up against a terrifically confusing mass of claims and counter-claims; facts and counter-facts and alleged facts; statistics and near statistics. There seems to have been general satisfaction among the workers with the wage scales established after the strike of 1919. But those scales have been gradually whittled down in the intervening years, despite the fact that during at least part of the same period some of the mills have made very large profits. This scaling down has been done by the enactment of new pay regulations rather than by outright cuts in basic scales. Affidavits made by striking workers show that, in recent months, their loss of income from these new regulations has, at least in certain mills, been heavy. To top it all, in October of last year, the great Botany mills announced a general wage cut of 10 per cent. All the other Passaic mills, except Forstmann and Huffmann, followed suit.

Passaic mill operators will tell you that, no matter what cuts have been made, the workers in their mills are still

*This name is soon to be changed to the Textile Workers Union of Passaic and Vicinity.

better paid than any other workers in woolen mills anywhere else in the world. The report of the bureau of labor statistics of the United States department of labor on "Wages and Hours of Labor in Woolen and Worsted Goods Manufacturing, 1924" seems to indicate that, at that time, workers in New Jersey mills were in a comparatively advantageous position. (The government lists mills by states, but it can be taken for granted that in any report covering woolen manufacturing in New Jersey the mills of Passaic are heavily represented.) According to this report, woolen workers in New Jersey had more days of work in 1924 than in any other state; stood at the top of the list in average earnings per hour (59.5 cents); had the largest average earnings (\$25.13) in the mills with a one-week pay period, and ranked only below Vermont with an average of \$63.10 pay in the mills with a two-week pay period.

The manufacturers of Passaic point to this report with pride. Perhaps they do not believe that it is necessary for them, before expressing satisfaction, to take into account another factor—the cost of living. Few industrialists will as yet admit the admissibility of the requirement of a living wage. Yet the National Industrial Conference board, an organization of employers, has reported that the cost of maintaining a normal family according to the minimum American standard in Hoboken, New Jersey—about a dozen miles from Passaic—was, in 1925, approximately \$1400 for the year. And if you deduct from the \$25.13 weekly wage of the average New Jersey woolen workers the average two weeks of idleness which the same report shows (13 and a fraction days, to be strictly accurate) you will have a total wage considerably under this minimum living requirement.

Look at the pay situation, for a moment, through the eyes of labor. The words that follow are taken from a pamphlet on "The Passaic Textile Strike" issued by the General Relief committee. You may call this propaganda if you want to. At any rate, pending the time when the mills throw open their books and make public evidence which disproves it, this propaganda has a right to be read. "The average wage of the unskilled textile workers," says this pamphlet, "is between \$12 and \$22 a week. The skilled workers, such as the loom fixers, of whom there are a very small number in each mill, receive from \$30 to \$40 a week. An analysis of 447 weekly pay-envelopes, collected by strikers in Passaic, shows that 22 per cent received between \$10 and \$15 a week, 33 per cent received between \$15 and \$20 a week, 23 per cent received between \$20 and \$25 a week, the remainder receiving either less than \$10 or over \$25. An analysis of 113 annual pay-slips shows that 47 per cent of the workmen receive less than \$1,000 a year, and 71 per cent less than \$1,200 a year." Out of this insufficient pay, according to the workers, comes the necessity for work by women and children, in order to pad out family incomes.

Other figures as to wages paid in the mills of Passaic are supplied by Mr. W. Jett Lauck of Washington, D. C. Mr. Lauck, formerly secretary of the National War Labor board, is an economist who has represented the workers in the present strike before the committee on education and

labor of the United States senate when that committee was considering a resolution calling for government investigation of the present strike. Mr. Lauck's figures are, according to his statement, taken from studies made of the pay envelopes turned in by strikers. Since the payrolls of the mills have not been available the strike leaders called on the workers to produce as many old pay envelopes as possible. Mr. Lauck believes that the evidence secured from these envelopes tends to favor the mills rather than otherwise, since he says that "it was the more thrifty ones who hoarded these old pay envelopes rather than the less responsible smaller paid ones." The envelopes are of value, however, as giving some indication of what actual weekly earnings of workers have been rather than the theoretical full time wage on which government reports are based. Says Mr. Lauck:

For the Botany Worsted mills, 316 of these envelopes were found for the year 1925, very evenly distributed over the twelve months of the year. The following table shows the distribution into wage groups:

ACTUAL WEEKLY EARNINGS IN 1925—EMPLOYES OF BOTANY WORSTED MILLS

| Wage Groups | Men | Women | Men & Women |
|-------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | Per cent of Total | Per cent of Total | Per cent of Total |
| \$0—\$10 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 10 | 1 | 4 | 3 |
| 12 | 3 | 6 | 5 |
| 14 | 9 | 15 | 12 |
| 16 | 5 | 19 | 13 |
| 18 | 6 | 13 | 10 |
| 20 | 7 | 19 | 14 |
| 22 | 8 | 7 | 7 |
| 24 | 29 | 6 | 16 |
| 26 | 18 | 4 | 10 |
| 28 | 3 | 2 | 2 |
| 30 and over | 10 | 3 | 6 |
| <hr/> | | | |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

The great bulk, 47 per cent, of the envelopes of the male workers falls between \$24 and \$28 per week. Two-thirds of the envelopes of women workers fall between \$14 and \$22. Quite a disproportionately large number of envelopes were found belonging to Andrew Bertalan, number 2657; Mary Bertalan, 5965; Steve Beregi, 9507; Julia Beregi, 3262; Anna Mihalyea, 443; Julia Lazorchak, 889.

All these workers are skilled and have higher earning capacity than the general run of the workers.

Neither full-time weekly wages nor actual weekly earnings are as satisfactory for judging the sufficiency of a person's income as the annual earnings. It is customary for industrial corporations to give to their employees at the end of the year slips of paper showing each employee his earnings during the preceding year. Unless this were done, the most of the employees would be entirely at a loss to know how to fill out their income tax returns. The following table shows the distribution into wage groups of the slips found by the strikers in their homes in response to the request of their leaders. The figures pertain to the employes of the Botany Worsted Mills for the calendar year 1925.

ACTUAL ANNUAL EARNINGS 1925—EMPLOYES OF BOTANY WORSTED MILLS

| Groups according to Amount | Men | Women | Men & Women |
|----------------------------|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| | Per cent of Total | Per cent of Total | Per cent of Total |
| Less than \$400 | — | 2 | 1 |
| \$400— 500 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 500— 600 | 2 | 4 | 3 |

| | | | |
|--------------|------------|------------|------------|
| 600—700 | — | 8 | 3 |
| 700—800 | 1 | 6 | 4 |
| 800—900 | 2 | 35 | 17 |
| 900—1000 | 5 | 23 | 17 |
| 1000—1100 | 15 | 4 | 10 |
| 1100—1200 | 22 | 4 | 14 |
| 1200—1300 | 19 | 2 | 11 |
| 1300—1400 | 13 | 4 | 9 |
| 1400—1500 | 9 | 4 | 7 |
| 1500—1600 | 1 | 2 | 2 |
| 1600—1700 | — | — | — |
| Total | 100 | 100 | 100 |

Another check on the wage situation, as reported by Mr. Lauck, was the figures supplied by heads of families applying to the strike relief funds for aid. In order to avoid unfairness in the distribution of these funds, records were kept of the income return and number in the family of those making application. The wage recorded was the nominal weekly wage on a full 48 hour basis after the 10 per cent cut ordered in October, 1925, had gone into effect. "Out of 1024 heads of families thus canvassed," says Mr. Lauck, "515, or 50 per cent had a wage of less than \$20 for a full time week, and 872, or 85 per cent, had a full time weekly wage of less than \$25." Mr. Lauck designates the result of this investigation as follows:

| Wage groups | Per cent of total |
|--------------|-------------------|
| \$5—10 | 1 |
| 10—15 | 18 |
| 15—20 | 31 |
| 20—25 | 35 |
| 25—30 | 12 |
| 30 and over | 3 |
| Total | 100 |

Conditions in the Passaic Mills

ABOUT THE WORKING CONDITIONS in the mills of Passaic the same confusion of testimony exists. Some of the buildings are old, but the companies have, in several instances, done considerable to safeguard the worker's health. Charges since the outbreak of the strike that the health regulations of the state have not been complied with have been denied, not only by the mills but by state officers. Statements as to the prevalence of certain diseases, apparently supported by official statistics, are countered by denials of the authenticity of these statistics. However, there can be no question but that the worker in a woolen mill, and his family, do face certain occupational conditions which are a menace to health.

Textile mills of all kinds are notoriously unhealthy places. Certain textile operations are generally carried on in rooms filled with steam; others in rooms filled with fluff or dust; others in rooms containing strong chemicals. No system of ventilation has ever been worked out, so far as we know, which is able fully to offset the deleterious effects of these conditions. If, in addition to this situation at the mill, the worker is forced to go home to a place which on account of his low income, is little better than a hovel, it can be readily understood why textile workers are peculiarly susceptible to tuberculosis, anæmia, digestive disorders,

"wool sorter's disease," and ailments of similar nature.

In addition to these factors, account must be taken of the strain which is constantly on workers, tending intricate machinery running at high speed, and the debilitating effects of the long hours worked by some shifts. Thus it is charged by workers in the present strike that "men work on the night shift from 12 to 14 or 16 hours. No time is allowed for rest or lunch. These 13 or 14 hours are spent *standing* in a room full of steam, and every half hour it is necessary to lift and change heavy rollers weighing from 300 to 400 pounds apiece. In the dye room, the air is so full of color stuff and the men breathe it in to such an extent that they 'spit colors.'" The same testimony speaks of "the intolerable odors of chemicals," and goes on to say that "much of the work is dangerous because of slippery floors, unguarded machinery, boiling liquids, acids, caustics, and other chemicals."

Night Work by Women

AN ESPECIALLY AGGRAVATING PHASE of the industrial situation in Passaic is the night work done in the Botany, Gera, Garfield Worsted, New Jersey Spinning, and Forstmann and Huffmann mills by women. It is said that the average wage of women workers in the Passaic mills is \$15 a week. Conditions are bad enough when economic pressure drives any married woman out of her home in order to supplement the family income, but when, as in Passaic, most of these women are driven into the night-shifts, it would seem that the time had arrived for open protest and drastic action.

As a matter of fact, there has been plenty of protest and some action in connection with the night work of women in the Passaic mills. In 1920, under the auspices of the National Consumer's league and the Consumer's league of New Jersey, Miss Agnes de Lima made an investigation, the results of which were published in a pamphlet, "Night-Working Mothers in Textile Mills: Passaic, New Jersey." Miss de Lima started with the reminder that England abolished night work by women in 1844; that since that time the practice had been abolished by Austria-Hungary, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Luxemburg, Switzerland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and the Netherlands. She went on to show that New Jersey was the only one left permitting night work by women in a group of highly industrialized states which includes Massachusetts, Connecticut, New York, Pennsylvania and Delaware. Then she went ahead to give glimpses into the homes of a hundred of these night-working women, selected at random. What she found there it was felt would go far toward moving any legislature on earth to pass restrictive laws. But it was 1923 before the legislature of New Jersey could be induced to place a night work law on its statute books, and then the manufacturers took advantage of a technical error in the drawing of the bill to secure a writ of certiorari restraining the enforcement of the law. Another law, which was supposed to go into effect on January 1, 1925, is, according to the affidavits of workers, generally ignored.

To comprehend the human situation out of which the present strike has come, it is worth taking space to look at this matter of night work by women. Miss de Lima, author

of the report of 1920, has recently been back over the Passaic field again, and has brought her conclusions up to date. In general, the conclusions to which she comes are as follows:

1. Night work by women is practically universal in Passaic. While night workers abound chiefly in the more poverty-stricken blocks or houses, nearly every working woman in Passaic tries night work at some time or other. Some workers alternate between day and night shifts, according to their capacity to stand the added strain of night work, and the needs of their families. The wide prevalence of such work may be observed by the fact that one may stop at almost every house in the districts where the workers live, one may knock at almost any door, and one will find a dreary creature who before the strike was employed on the night shift. Most of these women are Poles, Russians or Hungarians—only one woman seen by the investigator was American-born—and the information gathered from them is often most elementary. The facts are there, however, for anyone to see—the hopelessness of the mother, wearied and aged long before her time; her cluttered two or three rooms; the swarm of sickly and neglected children.

2. The time when most women choose to work by night, of course, is when their children are young. In this study as in the earlier one, it was found that all but two women were married, and all but one married woman had young children.

3. Except for the unmarried workers, a girl of 24 and the woman with no children, the reason given for choosing the night shift was to enable the mother to be with her children by day. Their small wages are inadequate to permit them to pay for a care-taker, or they fear with reason the ill treatment their children receive at the hands of strangers.

4. The reason given for the mother's going to work was the obvious one that their husbands could not earn sufficient for the family needs. Wages reported by the men varied between \$15 and \$22 weekly; for women \$12 and \$20. The living wage fixed by the department of labor is \$50 weekly for a family of five.

5. The "average" family of five—two adults and three children—is rare in Passaic. Of the workers visited, more than half had more than three children, and families of six, seven and eight children were not uncommon.

6. The hours of sleep snatched by day and night workers varied from none to four and five, or possibly six. Most women shrugged their shoulders at the question and answered, "One, two hours maybe."

7. The night shift is nine and a half hours long, the hours varying in the different mills. In the Botany mill, the night shift begins at seven p. m. and ends at five a. m. with half hour for food. In the New Jersey Spinning company, a shift has been arranged from 2:30 p. m. to 12 midnight, with no time whatever permitted for food. In the Forstmann and Huffmann mills, 20 minutes is allowed the all-night workers for food.

8. Most of the women were employed in one of the spinning processes, although there were weavers and carders among them. All the work is extremely heavy, involving standing, lifting, and frequently constant walking. Complaints were general also that the number of machine tenders had been reduced, thus increasing the strain. Add to these, the noise and shriek of the machinery, the oil soaked floors, the close humid air, and the strain of the night work seems past belief. Some workers confessed to sleeping beside their machines. Much material is spoiled this way, the superintendent of the Botany mill told the investigator in the earlier study, and in his opinion, the management would gain by abolishing night work.

9. One evil universally recognized was the prevalence of pregnant women on the night shift. The coming of a child is always a source of acute financial anxiety in these Passaic families, and it is only natural that night work by mothers should increase at such time. The practice is common also of working as long as possible, the foreman making no protest against women far gone in pregnancy standing all night before a ring spinning

machine, or lifting heavy card rolls, or running up and down with the spinning mule. Three women told of witnessing births of children in the mills, and several confessed to having worked up to the last day or two before giving birth to their children. In families where children come quickly, the mothers return to their machines when babies are two or three months old.

10. Several women ascribed the death or weakness of their children to the strain of heavy mill work during pregnancy, but asked with the cynical shrug so common among these workers, "What can do?"

11. The following daily routine of a night worker supplied by one woman is typical: She works in the card room of the Botany mill, which is the heaviest work conceivable. All night she stands from seven o'clock in the evening until five the following morning. She then returns to her home where six children, ranging in age from three to thirteen, and her husband, await her care. In exhaustion she "falls on the bed" until six o'clock, when she must get up and prepare her husband's breakfast, get him off to work, and then get three children ready for school. When they are gone, there are still three younger ones to look after. For an hour or two she may try desperately to get a little rest with them at play in the same room, or even in bed with her, to keep them quiet. "But you know, baby no keep still. All time call, 'Mama, get up!'" Presently she staggers to her feet and sets about washing or cleaning, or preparing something for the children to eat who come home from school. After dinner, she may attempt another nap, or abandoning any such hope, may continue her oversight of her three children at home. Occasionally she says she puts the two youngest in charge of one of the six and lets them play in the street below, but "How I know they not got kill from automobile?" Then comes the evening meal, and her seven o'clock return to the carding machine. By Saturday, she says, "no can move from tired. Like horse mus' work, but me no strong like horse."

The following excerpts from notes made by Miss de Lima in the course of her recent investigation are typical of conditions obtaining in the homes of night workers:

1. Mrs. P. who lives in a tenement on 2nd street in Passaic, has seven children. She lives in three dark rooms, two of which are windowless, and pays for them \$15 rent. The oldest child is 15 and expects soon to go to work; the youngest is two months. Mrs. P. although 23 years in this country, speaks little English. All these years she has worked in the mills, slaving in them as her babies came, and as soon after they were born as possible. Her rooms are squalid, cluttered and dirty for a Polish home, which is usually spotless. But Mrs. P. is too wearied and ill to clean. All in a heap she sat during the visitor's stay, one baby on her knee and two others clinging to her skirts. One white-faced girl of 9, her eyes red from malnutrition, interpreted for her mother. With an apathy like her mother's she repeated the story of low wages, insufficient food, an ever increasing family, and the necessity of the mother's working at night. Nothing perhaps is more tragic than the faces of the children in these poverty-stricken homes. Even babies of two and three reflect the dreariness and misery which has surrounded them ever since they came so unwelcomed into the world.

2. One scrawny, sickly woman, a widow, told of her long years of struggle to bring up her two children. Night work had finally broken her health, so that for two years she was unable to work and had to be helped by charity. She was now able to work again and had accepted thankfully "light" cleaning by night in the mill where she had formerly been employed as a night worker. She could earn now only \$15 and she and her two children had to manage somehow on that amount. They occupied two dingy rooms, one a window-less alcove. The fourteen year old daughter who interpreted, shuddered, "It's horrible, isn't it, to live like this?"

3. Another woman had come from West Virginia with six children. She had lived through years of strike there but her husband had died in a coal mine disaster. She had remarried a

textile worker and come to Passaic. "A much worse place than West Virginia," she declared. It is she who works as a carder in the Botany mill and whose daily routine has already been described. To support her huge family, she earns \$17 or \$18 weekly, while her husband makes a similarly small wage in another mill.

4. In one small cottage, remodeled to house twelve families, lived six night working mothers. They were all congregated on the steps when the investigator called. One by one they told their stories, and the stories were all the same. Three, four, five, six, seven children, husband earning a pittance, perhaps \$18, perhaps \$20, perhaps only 27 cents an hour. The mother therefore forced into the mill, to stand for the long hours of the night, and to earn at the end of five long nights, \$12, \$13, \$14 or perhaps also only 27 cents an hour. And by day, "How can sleep, with wash, with cook, with kids?" "Night work hell for women but what can do?"

5. Mrs. L. has seven children, ranging in age from four to fifteen. She earns \$17 to \$18 as a spinner on the night shift. Her husband works from 2:30 to midnight, so that half of each night the children are left in the care of the 15-year-old girl. On the day of the visit she was drearily washing. The strike, she said, had given her a little chance at night sleep, but always she was "like dead person for tired." Two or three of the younger children stood dully about, their eyes staring with hunger. Another child was stealthily eating from a frying pan on the stove. She would watch her mother furtively and then like a starved animal, filch a bit of food. Her peculiarly sharpened features, white cheeks and nose pinched and blue, looked like the famine pictures from Russia.

"One might continue indefinitely," writes Miss de Lima. "One home is much like another. Some are cleaner, some are airier, some have sun and a little more space than others. A few had fairly good furniture, a few were decorated by hand work, by crochet curtains, by hand woven hangings made on the other side. A few of the night workers blessed by generations of stocky peasant stock, still appear healthy, as do their children also. But the majority, despite the enforced 'vacation' of the strike, appear beaten and crushed and worn from their toil. The double burden placed upon them is excessive." Which would seem to be a mild enough opinion.

Profits in the Passaic Mills

IF IT IS DIFFICULT to ascertain the exact facts as to wages paid and conditions of labor in the Passaic mills, it is practically impossible to find out what profits are being taken out of the woolen and worsted industry of that city. Operators of the mills declare that whatever profits may have been in the past, the conditions in the industry are now such that the companies are fighting for their existence. It is known, of course, that the woolen industry is in a period of depression. Certain New England textile mills have been operating with a reduced staff. Manufacturers of woolen or worsted goods have an advantage under the present tariff of protection to the extent of an average of 73%. There is probably no schedule in the tariff which has been subjected to more criticism. The only defense, of course, of such monopolistic duties is their ability to protect and make prosperous American workers. Yet even this the textile tariffs are not now doing.

The present depressed condition arises largely out of changes in women's styles. Not only are women wearing less cloth than formerly, but they are wearing silk or rayon

where once they wore wool. Another shift in the style might give a very different aspect to the textile industry over night. As things now stand, however, it must be admitted that the industry is in a dull period. Incidentally, one of the charges brought against the leaders of the present Passaic strike by other labor leaders to prove an alleged lack of acumen, is that the strike was precipitated in a period when the mills could better afford to have their working forces reduced. This comes, however, with rather poor grace from the labor leaders who have done nothing in prosperous times to organize the workers.

While the mill operators thus point to the general condition of the industry as justification for their action in announcing a wage cut—and as has been said before, this cut did not come in Passaic until some months after a similar cut had gone into effect in the mills of the American Woolen Company in New England—the workers retort by saying that in the case of the single company which does make a public financial statement, this shows at the close of its last fiscal year, profits being made and that even these acknowledged profits do not represent the whole truth. With this single exception—the Botany Consolidated Mills, Inc.—the companies in Passaic are closed corporations which make no financial returns and are not represented in the usual financial manuals, such as Poor's, Moody's, etc., neither have they on direct application been willing to make public their balance sheets. It is at the point where these alleged hidden and disguised profits are concerned that it is most difficult to determine the real financial status of the Passaic companies at the present time.

The most interesting and detailed study of profits in the industries of Passaic made up to this date is that of Mr. Stuart Chase. Mr. Chase, a certified public accountant, is the author of "The Tragedy of Waste." While his personal interests are known to lie in liberal circles, his standing as an accurate investigator of industrial conditions has never been successfully challenged. Mr. Chase, after investigating the books of the only company which is available for public investigation, namely, the Botany Consolidated Mills, Inc., said, in part:

The Botany Consolidated Mills, Inc., was incorporated March 21, 1924, under the laws of Delaware. Its function is that of a holding company. It has acquired 99 per cent of the stock of the Botany Worsted Mills in Passaic, N. J., and the assets, business and property of the Garfield Worsted Mills, Garfield, N. J., and large interests in two German textile groups, controlling some 30 affiliated companies in Germany, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Italy, Latvia, and Holland. The foreign companies are engaged in spinning and weaving woolen fabrics, ribbons, tapes, and laces. The New Jersey companies constitute complete units for the manufacture of dress goods, cloakings and worsted yarns.

The Botany Worsted mills was incorporated in 1889. The company operates 2,200 looms and its normal capacity is 125,000 pounds of yarn and 225,000 yards of woven dress goods per week. It owns 67 acres of land on which are located the 108 buildings of the plant, with an aggregate floor space of 1,124,175 square feet. The Garfield Worsted mills was incorporated in 1902. It operates 1,000 looms and has also weaving, dyeing and finishing facilities. Its normal capacity is 100,000 yards per week. It owns 29 acres of land in Garfield and the aggregate floor space of its plant is 378,360 square feet. The two foreign groups controlled by the Botany Consolidated Mills, Inc., are Kammgarnspinnerei-Stohr and Co., and the Elberfelder

Textilwerke. The 30 subsidiary companies of these two groups operate about 336,000 spinning and twisting spindles, 1,940 broad looms, 530 ribbon looms and 3,600 knitting spindles. They employ about 11,000 workers.

When the holding company was organized in March, 1924, it proceeded to issue \$9,227,300 in 10 year 6½ per cent bonds. The bonds were sold by Blair and Co. at 96½, and with the proceeds the holding company proceeded to acquire the assets and business of the Garfield Worsted mills and the stock of the Botany Worsted mills. The holding company also issued 100,000 shares of Class A stock with a par value of \$50 and 479,000 shares of common stock without par value. The Class A stock was sold by Blair and company at 46½ to 48, and the proceeds were used to buy an interest in the two German groups, and also to make additional payments for the stock of the Botany Worsted mills. Of the common stock, 461,187 shares were given in part payment for Botany Worsted mills stock, and 18,000 shares to hold options with the foreign companies. Thus a total of 479,187 common has been issued. The Class A stock is a preferred stock in effect. It is to receive a minimum of \$4.00 per share per year, or 8 per cent, and to share with common up to a maximum of \$7, or 14 per cent per share per year.

It is interesting, after reading these details of the stock organization of the Botany mills, to see the inferences which an experienced investigator such as Mr. Chase draws:

Without further detailed information, it is difficult to know just what the inner meaning of this merger amounts to. From the facts available it would appear that it was probably the stockholders of the Botany Worsted mills—a few large holders—who initiated the merger. They organized the holding company, put up their stock as security during the preliminary financing—apparently about 34,000 shares of old Botany mills stock. The financing brought them in \$15,000,000 in cash—\$10,000,000 from the bond issue, and \$5,000,000 from the sale of Class A stock. With this cash, they bought the Garfield mills for an unknown sum, loaned some \$4,000,000 to the foreign companies and secured an option for their control, and paid an unknown but substantial balance to themselves for the surrender of their old stock to the new company. In addition, they distributed practically all the common stock of the new company to themselves—a total of 479,000 shares.

So while they went into the deal with 34,000 shares of Botany Worsted mills, they came out with a new company purchased outright (Garfield), important foreign holdings, a few millions of cash, and 479,000 new shares in the holding company. If this deduction is in any way sound, it would appear that the 1924 merger was the usual story of reorganization whereby the accumulated surplus of a profitable operating company (in this case the Botany Worsted mills) is made the subject for the cutting of a considerable melon, in cash, and a tremendous inflation in number of shares of common stock to a no par basis. Thus the ratio of return on said common can no longer be referred to a definite par value, and be criticised for its high index of profitableness. From the facts and figures published by the corporation records of the Standard Statistics company, the above deduction is a legitimate one and it devolves upon the holding company to submit the data to refute the deduction if it is in error.

Mr. Chase shows that the balance sheet of the Botany Consolidated Mills, Inc., which covers the condition of both the Botany and Garfield mills, for June 1, 1925, regards the current assets as more than \$27,000,000 and current liabilities as only \$12,000,000, while the surplus for the total value of the non par common stock is almost \$24,000,000, or about \$49 per share. In the present dispute the workers make constant reference to the profits of the Botany mills before the reorganization went into effect. For

the seven years ending December 31, 1923, the total profits averaged more than \$3,000,000 per year. Since there were 34,000 shares in the Botany Worsted mills outstanding, this would mean an average income of \$93 per share per annum. It is the contention of the workers that the reorganization, with the issue of the non par common stock, was a measure instituted largely in order to cover up these enormous profits. The only specific figures available in any detail, according to Mr. Chase, are for the holding company and comprise approximately nine months' operations in 1924 and five months' operations in 1925. The profits are reported as follows:

| | 9 months 1924 | 5 months to June 1, 1925 |
|----------------------------|------------------|--------------------------------|
| Net operating income | \$2,229,550 | \$1,196,148 |
| Sundry charges | 498,252 | 762,641 |
| Net income | 1,731,299 | 433,507 |
| Dividends paid | 281,988 | 200,000 |
| Balance to surplus | \$1,449,310 | \$ 233,507 |

Earnings per share:

| | | |
|---------------------|--------|--------|
| Class A Stock | \$6.43 | \$2.12 |
| Common | 2.43 | .46 |

"By and large," says Mr. Chase, "it appears that since the merger, the new company has made substantial earnings, though not as great as the old Botany mills company was averaging. Costs of reorganization, of liquidating old claims, of promoting foreign interests, etc., are necessarily heavy to begin with, and it is undoubtedly the hope of the holding company substantially to increase its showing of profit when these preliminary outlays are done with. But even on the assumption that earnings for the full year 1924 were only \$2,000,000, this would mean the equivalent of nearly \$60 a share on the old 34,000 of Botany mills stock."

The Influence of the Labor Spy

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE to progress far in studying the industrial situation in Passaic without striking the trail of the labor spy. And it is clear that, whatever justification may have been claimed for his employment, the spies in Passaic have worked actively to sow the seeds of suspicion, so that, during the period before the outbreak of the strike, there could be no open discussion on the part of the workers of their living or wage conditions. Men now testify that they dared not reveal their own thoughts to their comrades, for fear that what was thus spoken would be carried to headquarters and result in discharge and blacklisting. A condition of this kind points to the sort of industrial repression under which an explosion is eventually bound to occur.

The history of the labor spy in Passaic is an unusual one. Labor spies have been at work in many industries—as Sidney Howard's famous book abundantly shows—but in Passaic they have managed to form a part of the picture much more conspicuous than in most other places. In a measure, this is due to the famous faux pas committed in 1920 when these spies turned in a warning report on Miss Alice Barrows, a regular investigator for the bureau of education of the United States department of the interior. This investigator was in Passaic on the invitation of the

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school authorities of that city, trying to see what the chances were for introducing various forms of adult education in order to reduce the appalling illiteracy already mentioned. Labor spies planted in the then existing union—the Amalgamated Textile Workers of America—reported her to the Passaic Council of Wool Manufacturers (the local association of woolen and worsted employers) as “a misguided zealot, of which we have too many in this country.” The specific charge made was that, in talking with union officials as to the possibilities of classes in English for foreign-born workers, this government agent had agreed to a plan whereby a committee of the workers representing the different nationalities should nominate teachers. “To us,” said the report, “it seems that the method suggested would turn the schoolrooms of Passaic into breeding-places for bolshevists.” All of which might have remained a part of the dreadful, but hidden, contents of the files of the wool council, had not the secretary of the council sent it on to the superintendent of schools as a warning against further contact with the investigator, and had not the superintendent then turned it over to the investigator herself. The investigator recognized herself and when she made her own annual report to the government, she told the facts. The government thereupon printed the facts, and the Passaic labor spy system gained a national prominence. A delegation of Passaic manufacturers did what it could to induce the head of the bureau of education, at that time Dr. P. P. Claxton, to withdraw the pamphlet from circulation, but unavailingly. No denial was made of the facts alleged in the pamphlet; its withdrawal was urged because of the embarrassment it was causing the mills. For the whole story, which is still worth reading, those interested are referred to the articles contributed by William Hard to the New Republic of April 7, 14 and 21, 1920.

It was with this attempt to uncover danger in a conversation by a government worker on methods of teaching English—that labor espionage in Passaic received its first publicity. The storm then stirred up (which was intimately connected with the attempts to establish the rights of free speech and free assemblage in Passaic) probably caused a curtailment of the activities of the spy system. Attention was centered on the workers themselves. Testimony is given by leaders of the disorganized union, the Amalgamated, as to the success with which spies were introduced into its inmost circles, and the effectiveness of the anti-union propaganda distributed in leaflets printed in four languages, the factual basis for which were provided by these spies. It is probable that, in view of this effectiveness, the operators would consider that the methods of espionage used have justified themselves.

It was not only on the union and its leaders that espionage was established. An intricate and far-reaching type of espionage on the individual workers was set up in the mills. Of significance, for example, is the testimony of a Hungarian, a finisher in the Botany mills, who was approached by a company agent in the office of the wool council and offered advance money and additional salary if he would fill out a blank daily and mail these blanks periodically to a blind post office box. The blank furnished this under-cover man read:

Begin work.....a. m. Discontinued work.....p. m.
Date.....
Regular time.....hours.....minutes.
Lunch-hour.....hours.....minutes.
Who did you meet on way to work? (Names, checks, or machine number.)
What did he, she, or they say?
What did you say? (Always talk sensibly.)
Who did you talk to during morning? (Names, checks, or machine number.)
What did he, she or they say?
What did you say? (Always talk sensibly.)
Who did you talk to at noon? (Names, checks, or machine number.)
Give full particulars.

(Afternoon)

Use same method of reporting conversation as outlined above. Also write about anything else referred to in list of instructions.

If you have several conversations a. m. or p. m. and need more space than is provided on this blank, use common plain paper.

Attend meetings. Say where they are held. Give names of speakers and write up what they say. Mention number of men and women present. Furnish complete particulars and details concerning all meetings.

In the list of detailed instructions furnished this man the first two items read:

1. State whether employees work steadily through the day. If not, give the particulars. If they prepare to leave the department before the whistle blows, give the facts. If there is ill-feeling among the employees toward the company, state why. Give the names, machine numbers or check numbers and the reasons why they are dissatisfied.

2. If there are any employees in your department who are cranks or agitators on the labor question, bolshevism, socialism, or any other ism, write up what they have to say, mention their grievances and give details so that we will know as much about it as you do.

It is not hard to understand the state of mind which would quickly be effected among workers who discovered that they were constantly under observation of this sort. The instructions quoted date from 1920, but there are evidences that the same sort of undercover espionage by fellow-workers has continued. Take, as illustrative, the affidavits of John Sherman, made on April 23, 1926, and of Justine Waterman Wise, made on March 31, 1926. Mr. Sherman says that he was employed by the wool council from 1919 to 1926, and thus describes the work of that council, which represented the interests of seven mills:

My duties consisted of obtaining from applicants for jobs full particulars concerning former occupation, why they left their former jobs, how much they had been earning, description of the person and habits of the person. This application with the said information was then submitted to Mr. S. L. Szotkowski, who was the manager of the employment bureau of the industrial wool council. The information which the bureau required concerning an applicant's previous record was obtained by sending to his former employers a blank known as form No. 2 with the request that they fill it out and return it. On the basis of the application and the information derived by means of form No. 2, we would determine whether the applicant was likely to

be a trouble-maker. If so, our instructions were to refuse to give him an employment card. In 1925 and 1926, the method was adopted of giving the applicant a card, but indicating by a secret number system what objections there were to him, or her. The employment clerks at the various mills hired or refused to hire, depending upon the code numbers which appeared on this card, known as form 3.

I know that each of the members of the wool council had detectives and spies in the mills who were charged with the duty of watching the employees and talking to them, and of reporting to the management any actions or language which might indicate the possibility of his causing trouble. These detectives and spies were especially instructed to report any person who complained about his wages or working conditions, whether he ever mentioned forming a union, whether he worked steadily at his machine, whether he had any ill-feeling towards the company, whether he was a crank on the labor question, whether the machine was kept running to the fullest capacity, whether favoritism was shown to any employee by the foremen, etc. Whenever any person was discharged or left his job of his own accord, I would receive a report from the mill where he had been employed setting forth by means of a code number the reason or reasons why he or she had been dismissed or had left. . . .

Many applicants who found it impossible to obtain a job came to the office of the wool council and inquired for the reasons for their being blacklisted. My instructions from my superiors were never to admit to any person that he had been blacklisted. I was instructed to make up my own excuses in each case why the man or woman had been unable to obtain a job.

If that is the way in which the espionage system in the Passaic mills looked from the standpoint of a member of the staff of the employers' wool council, the affidavit of Miss Wise shows how the system has looked from the standpoint of the workers. Miss Wise, a daughter of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise of New York city, held employment in the mills until her identity was discovered, when she was discharged, after having been threatened with arrest. She says:

I lived in Passaic for over four months during the winter of 1924-25. During that time I worked on the evening shift of the Passaic Cotton mills, and for a day at Forstmann and Huffmann's, when I was discharged and threatened with arrest by the head of the personnel department, Mr. Reinhold. I was then absolutely blacklisted, my card entitling me to apply for work being confiscated by the Central Employment bureau, the agency of the wool council of Passaic, and was forced to work in a small knitting mill in Passaic Park where I earned \$8.00 a week to begin with.

While living and working in Passaic with three other friends, we found that the different foreign groups were segregated and were in no way touched by any worth-while Americanization work. We found that, when we suggested classes in workers' education, the workers at once asked if it would be safe for the textile workers, fearing that these workers who attended would upon being reported to the employers be discharged.

We found that the workers were suspicious not only of newcomers but of neighbors because they did not know who might be a labor spy. I never heard the words "trade union" or "labor movement" mentioned in a shop. After the mills, through their espionage system, discovered that my friends and I were college graduates, they not only blacklisted us but went to the head of the Y. W. C. A. and asked that we be excluded from the privileges thereof. On being asked how they knew that we had been there and at the institute—we had visited the latter only once—Mr. Andres said that we had been seen going in and coming out. Bertha Paret, one of our group, was discharged from Forstmann and Huffmann's, they at the time declaring that they had found that she was a college graduate through a friend and not through any spy system. Later we discovered that they

had had a paid detective work next to her for three weeks to learn about Miss Paret, and that this young woman had been forced to report that "she seemed perfectly all right."

We found the workers terrorized by the espionage system, which was doing more than any other single factor, with the possible exception of the starvation wages, to prevent the workers from becoming Americans in anything but their physical presence in America.

In any reading of the evidence which has been accumulated as to laboring conditions in Passaic, one is bound to be impressed by the way in which this note recurs again and again—the note of fear lest anything said or done looking toward readjustments in the mills or in the homes of workers would be reported to the operators by secret and irresponsible spies, and would lead to discharge. The conclusion is irresistible that, whatever the mills may have gained in immediate control of labor through their employment of labor spies, they have at the same time piled up for themselves an accumulation of suspicion and fear on the part of their employees which was bound, in the end, to contribute to an industrial explosion.

Civil Liberties

LOSELY CONNECTED with the successful effort which the Passaic employers have made to prevent a permanent organization of the workers in that city, is the frequent denial of fundamental civil rights guaranteed by the constitution of the United States and of the state of New Jersey. This, too, must be considered as an element contributing to the present deplorable situation. In referring to the case of Miss Alice Barrows of the bureau of education, as well as the discussion of the labor spy system as a whole, mention has been made of the way in which close check has been kept on not only the activities but the thoughts of workers and of visitors in Passaic who might be suspected of interests which the employers would classify as dangerous. This has led on several occasions to an open clash on the rights of free speech or free assemblage.

In 1920 this denial of these rights led to several incidents which attracted wide attention. The police authorities of Passaic, who have been charged with unusual deference to the wishes of the mill operators, at that time had put into effect regulations requiring the issuance of a police permit before meetings of the then existing Amalgamated Textile Workers could be held. It was resolved to test the right of the police to require such permit. A meeting was held in a hall in Passaic addressed by the Rev. Harry F. Ward, now chairman of the American Civil Liberties union, the Rev. Norman Thomas, the late Albert de Silver, prominent attorney of New York, and Cedric Long and Robert Dunn, representing the Amalgamated. The electric lights in the hall were turned off by order of the city authorities and police dispersed practically all of the workers who were present. Mr. William Hard, the noted publicist who was at the meeting, has described what happened there in words which are worthy of preservation:

The policemen came to the front of the hall and said "Out!" With clubs in their hands they drove the audience back out of the hall. The rays of their electric flash-lamps shone on their clubs and on the faces of the foreigners slowly but quietly yield-

ing to their shouts and their pushes. A half dozen foreigners remained, unnoticed and negligible. The meeting was gone.

But a certain Pole, after a while, rose and stood on the platform. Here was the moment I shall particularly remember.

Two or three candles had been found and lighted. One of them cast a very faint glow on a paper which the Pole held in his hand. He was translating it to two Poles who resolutely sat in the front row before him. The hall behind me was altogether dark. The little candles in front of me made the platform seem like an altar. The Pole was reading some sacramental words. He was reading the constitution of the state of New Jersey.

He spoke its words in English and then in Polish. In that twilight of the gods of the American revolution he was transmitting the purport of American revolutionary constitutional guarantees to immigrants, to foreigners, to—shall I say?—our successors?

I wondered. Will 1776 per cent Americanism have to be vindicated in our cities by Poles, Italians, Serbs, Croatians, Russians, Hungarians, Czechs and Slovaks?

In 1920, after the civil liberties issue had been made thus clear in Passaic, one of the two leading newspapers of the city came out in defense of the right of free speech. It seemed for a time as though those rights had been restored and recognized. There has been, however, among the mill workers the general feeling that the issue was merely in abeyance pending the resumption of actual industrial disputes, and the evidence since the present strike started would seem in large measure to justify this belief.

The Company Union

IT MAY SEEM PECULIAR to include the company union among the elements in the background of the Passaic strike. Yet conversations with workers indicate that the single union of this kind has played some part in creating resentment. The company union has existed in the Forstmann and Huffmann mill, where it has taken the form of a representative assembly, with 54 members elected by the workers to represent the various departments of the plant, and 54 members chosen to represent the management. Very early in the present strike the other mills affected suggested that the demands of the workers for organization be met by the recognition in all the mills of "plant committees or shop councils which shall have for their purpose the promotion of mutual understanding, fair dealing and goodwill"—words taken almost verbatim, as the strike leaders were quick to point out, from the constitution governing the Forstmann and Huffmann representative assembly.

The Forstmann and Huffmann company will maintain without wavering that, despite the fact that this company union came into existence in the midst of an open shop campaign, it was organized with an honest desire to promote good internal relations between workers and management. This claim is bitterly resented by strike leaders and by outside students of the company union movement. They point to the constitution of the Forstmann and Huffmann representative assembly, its lack of legislative powers, the infrequency of its meetings, and the absolute control of even its most petty business by its docket committee, as evidence that it was, from the beginning, nothing but an attempt to satisfy legitimate labor aspirations with an organization which had form but no real meaning. However, the management will maintain that the plan succeeded; that

goodwill has characterized its industrial situation unbrokenly until the workers struck; and that there would have been no strike had it not been for the unenlightened labor policy followed by the Botany mills, which are controlled by outside capital. An examination certainly does suggest that the shortcomings of the assembly were exaggerated by the personal character of the management of the mill. Mr. Julius Forstmann, head of the Forstmann and Huffmann company, is a German industrialist of the old school. That he has a desire to do the right thing by his workers may be admitted, but his ideas are completely paternalistic and conservative. He believes, with all his soul, in the value of discipline. The worker is a worker, and as such is to be held rigidly in line. Much the same idea underlies the work of Mr. Robert W. Reinhold, who was brought in by Mr. Forstmann following the strike of 1919 to erect a system of welfare work. The representative assembly is a pet of Mr. Reinhold's.

As proof of the fact that the assembly has worked well, and that—had it not been for outside influences—the workers in the Forstmann and Huffmann mills would have been content, Mr. Forstmann and Mr. Reinhold point, not only to the fact that their mill never announced the 10 per cent wage cut which precipitated the strike, but that, after the strike had actually come, and after Forstmann and Huffmann workers had begun to go out, the representative assembly, on the return of Mr. Forstmann from Europe, passed a resolution of appreciation of his labor policy, and petitioning him to open the mill again. It is on the basis of this petition that Forstmann and Huffmann has since then been trying to run; Mr. Forstmann making public statements in which he interpreted his action in opening the mill as keeping faith with loyal workers.

There are, of course, other ways of looking at the same set of facts, and the present strikers do not hesitate to bring them forward. According to their picture, the entire representative assembly came to be, under Mr. Reinhold's tutelage, largely a hand-picked, company-controlled body, and they point to the fact that only a few of its members went on strike with the majority of the workers as proof of the truth of their contention. The votes of thanks and the petition for re-opening the mill they treat as nothing more than rubber stamp actions, secured by the mill management. As indicative of the point of view of these workers, the following quotations from affidavits made by certain former members of the representative assembly now on strike may be considered. Thus, Andrew Gancher says: "I have been a member of the shop committee and of the representative committee for the past three years. At the meetings of the representative assembly the workers were all afraid to speak concerning the conditions. I never in my three years' membership in the representative assembly spoke once at the meetings, because I knew that what I said would be taken down and used against me." "I was elected a representative in 1923," says Joseph Bellena. "I attended regularly the meetings of the representative assembly, and I know of my own knowledge of cases where persons who had complaints to bring before the representative assembly were told that they would lose their positions if they did so." And Clement Belli attests: "The majority

of this assembly was composed of foremen and the higher employes of the Forstmann and Huffmann company. In the presence of these high men the members elected from the ranks of the workers were afraid to speak up whenever any complaints were brought to their attention, because if they complained they were threatened with the loss of their positions. Mr. Reinhold dominated at these meetings, and the workers' representatives were afraid to incur his displeasure. In my four years as a member of the representative assembly, I recollect only a few occasions when a workingman said anything at the meetings." It is, of course, probable that the Forstmann and Huffmann company could produce affidavits from other members of the assembly of a contradictory character. But if any significant portion of the workers felt as these men testify they felt, that constitutes a factor meriting attention.

It may come as a shock to industrialists of the type of Mr. Forstmann and Mr. Reinhold to hear it said that a welfare program may be a contributing cause of such a strike as they now confront. They are hardly to be wondered at if, after providing a nursery where mothers could leave their children under care at a small charge, a lunch-room for workers, two tennis courts, and a basket-ball team, in addition to the representative assembly, they should feel outraged and even betrayed at the course followed by most of their workers. But it takes only a small knowledge of human nature, not to mention the nature of factory workers, to understand how a welfare system as completely under control as the workers' affidavits suggest might prove a provocation rather than a satisfaction.

Summary
THIS, then, was Passaic in the first week of January, 1926:

With its subsidiary communities, one of the great woolen and worsted textile centers of America;

With several great mills, almost all of which had passed through the demoralizing experience of control by the Alien Property Custodian; almost all of which had, in times past, made enormous profits; but almost all of which were now, because of trade conditions, and despite an unusually favorable tariff, facing a period of major depression;

With a settled labor policy which had prevented the permanent establishment of a union among the workers, and which had never hesitated to employ drastic labor espionage or the curtailment of civil liberties to support this policy;

With a working population heavily foreign-born, heavily illiterate, and living on an economic margin so slender that it required in hundreds of families the labor of women and children under conditions now illegal in many other states and in many other nations;

With a general 10 per cent cut in wages just announced, and with conditions within the industry such as further to reduce the income of the workers on account of lack of work;

With an entail of bitterness, sullenness and suspicion left over from previous industrial struggles.

It was in this city that the strike at present under discussion broke out.

Passaic in 1926

The Strike

THE STRIKE began on January 25, 1926. The first cut in wages had come in the Botany mills during the previous October; most of the other mills had imitated the example set by Botany. Shortly after the announcement of the general cut, labor organizers had begun to work among the workers of Passaic. Unrest became more and more general in the industry. Forstmann and Huffmann gave their employes, through the representative assembly, assurance that there would be no cut in that mill. But it seems evident now that even the Forstmann and Huffmann workers feared that this promise would later be disregarded. At the same time, the rapid decline in orders had put almost half the workers on half-time. The managers of the Botany mills point to this fact today as evidence of the generous attitude which has been adopted toward workers in the past, claiming that it would now have a better showing to make public if it had kept at full-time only the workers for whom there was employment, but that, by keeping all workers employed part-time, it is now possible for the strikers to report very low incomes for the period immediately preceding the strike.

The explosion which started the strike came in the Botany mills. A worker there was discovered agitating,

and was discharged. By this time, Botany had been thoroughly impregnated with the strike doctrine. A committee of workers, of whom Gustav Deak seems to have been the leader, immediately waited on Colonel Charles F. H. Johnson, vice-president of the Botany, and asked for the reinstatement of the man discharged, and the restoration of the 10 per cent wage cut. Colonel Johnson thereupon discharged the members of the committee. These carried the word back to the other workers in the mill, which produced a general strike, hardly any workers remaining.

This Colonel Johnson is an interesting character; in many ways the most forceful man on the employer's side of the struggle, yet as much a monster in the eyes of masses of the strikers as is Weisbord in the eyes of the operators. Perhaps it is this aspect of the present situation which surprises and disturbs Colonel Johnson most profoundly. He does not enjoy being pictured as a devil with horns and tail, and that for the sufficient reason that, in his personal relations, he is a kindly gentleman who has evidently had a real sense of responsibility for the welfare of the workers. Left to himself, it is possible to suspect that Colonel Johnson would approve a labor policy much more progressive than that of, for instance, Mr. Julius Forstmann. He is an industrial autocrat, to be sure, but a benevolent autocrat, and he would probably be willing to concede, under certain safeguards,

the place of a labor autocracy of the conservative type of the American Federation of Labor and its subsidiaries. It is, for instance, interesting to note that the Botany mill carries a half-page advertisement in the American Federationist, official magazine of the A. F. of L. Practically all the Passaic mills advertise in the *Textile Worker*, the official organ of the United Textile Workers of America.

The one thing which Colonel Johnson sees in this strike is the red menace. It will be necessary to recur to this factor again and again in succeeding pages, but no consideration of the part played by Johnson in the strike is possible without taking this into account. Colonel Johnson has been in Russia, has seen the present regime there in operation, is convinced that the Russian experiment is a complete failure, and is honestly apprehensive lest the same blighting experiment be tried in other countries. It has been freely stated that Weisbord, the leader of the strike, received his orders in November, 1925, at a meeting with leaders of the Workers' (communist) party held in Chicago. Whether there is any truth in that charge or not, Colonel Johnson is convinced that the trail runs far beyond Chicago, straight back to Russia and Moscow, and that the present strike is a part of a Russian communistic plan to disrupt the textile industries of the world, a plan which had its American features approved by such sojourners in Russia as William Z. Foster and "Big Bill" Haywood. These, of course, are only the impressions which an interviewer gathers in meeting and talking with Colonel Johnson. To them it should perhaps be added that Colonel Johnson impresses those whom he meets with the sincerity with which he holds his views.

After the Botany, the other mills in the Passaic district went on strike in rapid succession. Garfield Worsted and Passaic Worsted were out in a week. Gera, New Jersey Spinning, and one or two smaller plants followed. It quickly became apparent that if the great Forstmann and Huffmann mills could be closed, the strike would become practically complete. Here the quality of the strike leadership first began to be manifested, and here came the first clashes with local authority. We reserve for later, and more extended, comment the personality of Albert Weisbord, leader of the strikers, together with his part in the struggle. But it is impossible not to record the amazing success which he won in the early weeks of the strike in bringing the workers out of the Forstmann and Huffmann plant.

Here, be it remembered, was a plant which had not reduced wages. The first demands of the strikers—the simple demand for a restoration of the wage cut on which the workers in the other mills walked out—did not, therefore, apply to the Forstmann and Huffmann company. (After the strike had once started, to be sure, there were other demands made, and these remain the official demands up to the present. But no strike would have been started on the basis of the present demands. It was the simple, succinct attempt to defeat the cut which took the first workers out.) But Weisbord so successfully picketed the Forstmann and Huffmann mills, making so graphic the appeal for a sympathetic support, that on February 9—the day on which police made their first major assault on the picket

line—enough of the Forstmann workers came out to force the closing down of the plant. The company has sought to maintain, for some obscure legal or psychological reason, that there has been no strike in its plant; that its workers are merely "on call," awaiting the moment when the condition of the trade at large and the end of the danger of mistreatment by the strikers makes it wise to reopen. The vice-chancellor of New Jersey, however, in his order modifying his injunction—soon to be mentioned—recognized the existence of a strike in the Forstmann and Huffmann mills.

Mr. Julius Forstmann, owner of these mills, is almost a legendary character in Passaic. He seems to be known intimately by very few people in that city, although he has given large sums to the Christian associations, and has endowed a foundation for the education of manual laborers. Perhaps this lack of personal contact is to have been expected; local gossip credits Mr. Forstmann with being the 16th richest man in the United States. It is generally admitted that if he makes up his mind to refuse to negotiate for the end of the present strike—which he has apparently done—he has money enough to stand out for a long, long time. While Mr. Forstmann has permitted a company union in his plant, he has been the one employer during the present strike who has refused to negotiate on the basis of recognizing a union, holding to this position even after Mr. Weisbord, the stormy petrel, had agreed to remove himself from the negotiations.

Following Forstmann and Huffmann, practically all the textile plants in Passaic came out, with the addition of one or two small silk plants lying on the edge of the near-by Paterson silk district. The total number of strikers by the middle of March was about 16,000. To the date of this writing there has been no appreciable diminution in that number! That single fact in itself constitutes the most impressive feature of the Passaic situation. For here is a mass of low-wage workers, most of them foreign-born, engaged in a strike which has been fought as vigorously as any strike in American industrial history, with even the "regular" labor organizations in opposition, yet held in line without serious desertion for twenty weeks! Some of these strikers have actually been out of work since the last week in January, yet they are showing no signs of surrender. Even the opposition should be willing to concede the remarkable effectiveness of the Weisbord leadership up to this point.

In other columns will be found a detailed, week by week account of the history of the strike. The main features of the struggle are easily reported. At the beginning, it was an attempt to get workers out. This the strike leaders accomplished by using the picket-line as it has hardly been used before in this country. Before six in the morning, long lines of pickets were stretched before the entrances to the mills still at work. Since these were required to keep moving, they would be marched down one side of the street, to a corner, across the street and back on the other side. In this way a sort of endless chain of moving humanity was achieved, and workers, even if physically unmolested, would find it a severe nervous strain to have to run such a gauntlet in order to enter the mill. In passing, it may be said that there is little evidence of physical mistreatment of

persons attempting to go to work. With all the reports that are heard to this effect—reference to which will be found elsewhere—there has certainly been no such destruction of property and no such violence on the part of the strikers as has been shown in many previous major industrial conflicts. The first mass picket lines resorted to the carrying of placards, singing songs, shouts, booing and such use of epithets as a crowd is always likely to employ. A great deal of this noisy, verbal reproach was directed against the police.

It was when the picket lines had grown to the size of several thousands, and were being used to put pressure on the wavering Forstmann and Huffmann workers, that police brutality first made its appearance. Here, again, it is difficult to separate fact from fiction in the mass of charges and countercharges. In estimating the situation, it must be remembered what the situation was. The police were doubtlessly in a none too even frame of mind. They had a major industrial dispute on their hands; so far peaceful, but with the numbers parading the streets growing every day. The actual first clash came over the attempt of a long picket line, led by women, to cross a bridge that marks the boundary between Passaic and Clifton in order to demonstrate before the Forstmann and Huffmann mill. The police charged this column, both on foot and on motorcycles. Several were knocked down; many reported that they had been clubbed; many were trampled in the rush which ensued.

In connection with the discussion of civil liberties more will be said about the conduct of the police at this stage of the strike. Here it is of interest to note, in passing, that the Passaic commissioner of public safety, Mr. Abram Preiskel, says that he has ordered the police to maintain strict neutrality, and that he has been criticized by both sides—by the strikers for police brutality and by the operators for insufficient police activity; that the workers themselves declare that there has been no consistency in the attitude of the police—one day there being every evidence of neutrality and even good-humored tolerance, while the next there would be ruthless attack; and finally that there has been a very different record in the adjoining municipalities of Passaic and Garfield. In Garfield, the mayor of the borough is said to be an employee of the Botany mills, but the council is made up of strike sympathizers. The sheriff of Bergen county did use deputies in Garfield to prevent the holding of strike meetings, but these were county and not borough officers. So far as the Garfield police were concerned, none of the clashes with strikers took place which drew national attention to Passaic, where the city administration was not so clearly neutral or favorable to the workers. There is some cause for reflection in this fact.

The workers thus summarize the course of the strike during the period when the police were most in evidence:

Preiskel and Zober (chief of police in Passaic) have tried in vain to limit the picket lines to a mere handful of strikers. Mass picket lines, an essential strike tactic in this unorganized territory, have been maintained throughout the strike against the most brutal assaults imaginable. Men, women and children have been clubbed into insensibility, heads have been broken, yet the lines have remained firm. Chief Zober has thrown tear-gas

bombs among these defenseless and peaceable workers; he has had the fire-hose turned upon them in the streets on a cold winter day; he has had them ridden down with horses, and clubbed again, yet the lines have turned out stronger than ever. In their frenzy the police have turned upon newspaper men, clubbed them, smashed their cameras and destroyed their films so that no evidence might remain of their illegal violence. The picket lines have only increased thereby and the sympathy of the entire country has turned to the strikers. Singing and cheering, the textile strikers have stood firm.

It is to be noted that most of the police brutalities complained of occurred in the first twelve weeks of the strike, when both sides were looking for a quick finish, and when the operators were still hoping to be able to reopen their mills in order to produce at least a partial line of goods for the fall market. With the passing of the weeks, however, and the fading of this hope, the strike has gradually settled into a contest in stamina, with both sides apparently content to play a waiting game. Under these circumstances, the part played by the police in Passaic has become more and more inconspicuous. It is getting ahead of the story, in a measure, to say this at this point, but it is inserted in explanation of the fact that, after the clashes of which the country has been told, with the free use of clubs, tear-gas, and other weapons, the Passaic police rather fade out of the picture, to have their place taken by Sheriff Nimmo, of Bergen county, and his deputies.

As has been said, the strike is not confined to the municipality of Passaic, but spills over into the neighboring boroughs of Clifton, Garfield and Lodi. The Garfield plant of the Forstmann and Huffmann company, the Garfield Worsted mill, and the Lodi dyeing works are outside Passaic county, in the county of Bergen, with the county-seat at Hackensack, about ten miles away. (The counties in this part of New Jersey have comparatively small areas.) When the strike began to surge about the Forstmann and Huffmann mills, Sheriff Nimmo, of Bergen county, quickly came to the front as the principal officer of the peace. Sheriff Nimmo appeared in Garfield with large numbers of deputies, all armed with rifles and shot guns. Who authorized the employment of these deputies, and who is going to pay them is a question which is still of interest. An attempt to pay them from county funds might produce a political explosion, for the county as a whole is thought to be favorable to the workers. But there is a New Jersey law which forbids payment of public officers by private parties, thus making it impossible for any of the mills which sought the protection of deputies to stand the expense of their employment.

The activities of Sheriff Nimmo in the strike fall naturally into two divisions. In this place reference will be made to but one of these, reserving the other for discussion in connection with the civil liberty issues involved. The first line of activity taken by the sheriff and his deputies, however, was in an attempt to break up picket lines—exactly the same thing which the Passaic police had been trying to do. Sheriff Nimmo used the New Jersey "riot act," which has stood on the statutes with only minor alterations from colonial times, to deal with the picketing in front of the Forstmann and Huffmann plants. The riot act employed by the sheriff permits any justice of the peace, sheriff, under sheriff, or constable to read the act when the officer in

question decides that there are associated together twelve or more persons, armed with clubs, guns, swords, or other weapons, or thirty or more persons, unarmed, in an "unlawful, riotous, riotous or tumultuous manner." The method is to approach as close to the assembly as safety permits, command silence, and in a loud voice proclaim: "State of New Jersey. By virtue of an act of this state entitled 'An act to prevent routs, riots and tumultuous assemblies' I am directed to charge and command all persons, being here assembled, immediately to disperse themselves and peaceably to depart to their habitations, or to their lawful business, upon the pains and penalties contained in the said act. God save the state!" The act provides for the dispersal of the assembly within one hour after the reading of the act, or, in their failure to do so, permits the officers present to make arrests. So much for the act. Now for Sheriff Nimmo's use of it on April 12. A long picket line was, that afternoon, passing the Forstmann and Huffmann mill, and there is impressive evidence to show that, beyond singing and some shouting, the picket line was proceeding without disorder. Suddenly, Sheriff Nimmo, accompanied by a group of armed deputies, stepped out of the mill, mounted a box, and read off the act as quickly as possible. At the conclusion of the reading he immediately gave orders for the dispersal of the picket line. The numerous affidavits covering the incident seem to agree that the words used by the sheriff, were "Go to it, boys! Sweep 'em up!" Deputies immediately charged the picket line, arresting several picketers, among them Robert Dunn of the American Civil Liberties union and Esther Lowell, correspondent of the Federated Press, a labor press service. Mr. Dunn was subsequently held for \$10,000 bail and Miss Lowell for \$2,500—an extraordinary sum, in view of the fact that the utmost penalty allowed by the law is a fine of \$1,000 and three years' imprisonment. In later legal appearances the sheriff and his deputies sought to make it appear that they had given due attention to the provision of the law providing for a break of one hour between the reading of the riot act and the making of arrests. There are any number of affidavits, however, from those present when the arrests took place, as well as the news reports of the events, which indicate that the charge on the picket line and the making of the arrests came immediately after the conclusion of the reading.

Following the arrests of April 12, Sheriff Nimmo attempted to establish an interpretation of the powers given him under the riot act which, had it been sustained, would have made him practical dictator of that portion of New Jersey for as long as he desired. He held that, after the riot act had once been read, a state of "riot law"—comparable to martial law—existed in the county, under which any future meetings of strikers would be illegal and subject them to arrest. It was in the attempt to challenge this interpretation that the Rev. Norman Thomas was arrested when speaking at a meeting subsequently held in Garfield. A consideration of that phase of the sheriff's participation in the strike, however, more properly lies under the head of civil liberties, and will be referred to there.

The next major phase in the strike, after the attempts to break up the picket lines by direct police action, came with

the Forstmann and Huffmann application to Vice-Chancellor Bentley of New Jersey for an injunction. Forstmann and Huffmann contended that there was no strike at their plant; that their workers wished to work, but were being intimidated by workers from other mills. They therefore sought an injunction which would restrain the strikers from interfering with their workers. Vice-Chancellor Bentley granted the injunction. Its terms make it one of the most sweeping in American labor disputes—even more sweeping than the famous Daugherty injunctions obtained against striking railway workers. Mr. Charles M. Joseph, a lawyer connected with the conduct of the strike, thus described the provisions of the first Bentley injunction for the information of the senate committee on education and labor:

The injunction, directed against specific persons and "all others unknown," enjoins the following activities of the strikers:

Strikers and all persons are prohibited and enjoined from encouraging in any way whether by words or acts any movement such as this strike to induce the employes of the Forstmann and Huffmann mills to cease working.

Strikers are enjoined from picketing in front of the Forstmann and Huffmann mills, however peaceably, in spite of the fact that by the act of the legislature of the state of New Jersey, passed about three weeks ago, peaceful picketing in time of strike was specifically permitted and also in spite of the fact that the said act of the legislature of the state of New Jersey specifically prohibits the issuance of any injunction attempting to restrain picketing or peaceful persuasion of workers to the end that they may cease working.

Strikers are enjoined from consulting even with one another in the conduct of the strike.

Strikers are also enjoined from contributing any money to the conduct of the strike.

It is hardly to be wondered at that, in the face of an injunction which even forbids conversation concerning the strike, Mr. Joseph told the senators, that "the foregoing provisions are sufficient to end the strike as far as the strikers of the Forstmann and Huffmann mills are concerned, since they can neither picket nor talk with one another concerning any plans for the conduct of the strike."

This injunction, however, was subsequently modified by Vice-Chancellor Bentley in such a way as to pull its strongest teeth. On representations from the other side, the vice-chancellor came to the conclusion that a majority of the employes of the Forstmann and Huffmann mills were actually on strike on their own will, and he therefore so modified his temporary injunction as to make picketing a recognized and legally protected procedure on the part of the strikers, and as to remove the strictures against discussion by the strikers of the issues involved. The only requirement was that picketing must be orderly and that not more than eight pickets must be on duty before one gate at any one time. Since there were no restrictions as to the frequency with which the pickets might be changed, the amended injunction really left the strikers free to conduct just about such a campaign as they had declared they desired.

With the amendment of the temporary injunction of Vice-chancellor Bentley, the strike entered on the phase in which it now stands. This is the attrition period. Neither side is in a mood for open attack. Both are concentrating their attention on holding their lines firm. The employers profess to be content to have the strikers out, saying that

they would have no work for most of them if they were to return to the mills. The strikers counter by saying that, if the employers are telling the truth, they are better off on strike, supported by relief funds, than they would be otherwise. The collection and distribution of relief funds has thus come to be the key to the situation, insofar as the strikers are concerned.

That this is the vital point at present is shown by the increasing attack being made here. More and more the propaganda emanating from employer sources is suggesting the wisdom of inquiry as to how much is being received and who is getting it. The usual charges and counter-charges fill the air. On the side of the general relief committee of the strikers it is said that there are but eight persons on the strike leadership payroll, and the highest paid of these receives \$45 a week. Weisbord is credited with receiving \$25 a week. It is said that about \$15,000 a week is being received and disbursed. In every textile strike up to the present it has eventually been discovered that persons very close to the strike treasury were supplying regular reports of income and expenditure to the other side. If the leadership of the present strike has been able to escape this espionage, it has established a record for itself. But, whether there is at present such espionage or not, there is at least no specification of misuse of strike funds laid against the strike leaders.

The opening of August, therefore, finds the strike at an apparent stalemate. Strike leaders are able to secure funds for relief in amounts larger than in any previous textile struggle in America. Breaks in the ranks of the strikers have been very few. Such breaks as have been reported have been, almost without exception, from silk mills in Lodi, industries which, both geographically and from the craft standpoint, are on the borders of this strike. Lawlessness is at a minimum, although as the strike drags along, and the workers see the difficulties of their position more clearly, the temptation to illegal action on the part of irresponsible individuals will increase. The only element in the present situation which holds out much prospect of a change on either side is that introduced by the effort of the newly formed Citizens' committee to function. The work of this committee will be reviewed in the later section devoted to attempts at mediation, although the workers would insist that the work of the committee up to date merits its inclusion under the methods employed by the owners to break the strike.

The Strike Week by Week

FIRST WEEK

FOUR THOUSAND Botany workers, led by the thousand members of the United Front committee, went on strike on January 25, after forty workers who protested wage cuts and discrimination against members of the union had been summarily discharged. By the end of the week, most of the workers from Garfield Spinning and Worsted and Passaic Worsted and Spinning mills had joined the strikers. The tactic of mass picketing was employed by the union not only at the struck mills, but also at the mills that it wished to lead on strike.

SECOND WEEK

More than half the workers in New Jersey Spinning mill

joined the strike. Daily mass meetings for all strikers and daily conferences of the executive strike committee, composed entirely of strikers elected on a representative plan, were established.

THIRD WEEK

The first violence of the strike occurred on February 9, when a mass line of pickets was clubbed by Clifton police on the Ackerman Avenue bridge.

FOURTH WEEK

The weavers and spinners of Forstmann and Huffmann mills came out in a body, leading other workers on strike. A group of merchants of Passaic desired to act to end the strike. Their offer was accepted by the union, but refused by the mill owners. Workers from Dundee Textile mill joined the strikers.

FIFTH WEEK

Forstmann and Huffmann closed down its plants. The relief system established by the General Strike committee began to function. Stores and coffee stations were opened.

SIXTH WEEK

"Terror Week." On Monday police appeared mounted on horses and motorcycles. On Tuesday tear bombs and fire hose were used by Passaic police to disperse picket lines. On Wednesday newspaper reporters and photographers were clubbed, together with many strikers, by Clifton and Passaic police. A line of several thousand strikers, headed by a woman with a baby in its carriage, marched unmolested on Thursday. Warrants for the arrest of the Passaic chief of police and two policemen on charges of assault were issued, but were not served until the following week. On Saturday 600 workers of the United Piece Dye works of Lodi joined the strike.

SEVENTH WEEK

The United Front committee applied to the American Federation of Labor for affiliation with its textile group, the United Textile Workers. Two thousand more workers from the Lodi mill joined the strike, bringing the total number of strikers up to 16,000. Thirteen clergymen met with Weisbord to discuss the situation and voted to approach the mill owners for settlement. Their efforts to bring about a settlement conference were ignored by the mill owners. The offer of Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and a committee to act as mediators was accepted by the strikers but ignored by the mill owners.

EIGHTH WEEK

A committee of eight strikers went to Washington to ask President Coolidge to intervene to obtain a settlement. They were refused admittance. Secretary of labor Davis proposed a plan, suggesting that they abandon their strike and return to work before adjustments were discussed. The strikers rejected this proposal on the ground of lack of guarantees, and declared it to be a "strike-breaking" plan. Picket lines were attacked by Passaic police near Botany mills, and newspaper and camera men, as well as strikers, severely beaten. There were many cases of false arrest and mishandling after arrest during this week.

NINTH WEEK

The second Ackerman Avenue bridge attack took place in this week. Clifton police stopped a picket line of 3,000 people as they came over the bridge, and clubbed many strikers. The American Civil Liberties union asked for 16 warrants to be sworn out against Passaic police on charges of atrocious assault. The request was refused by Police Judge William Davidson on the ground that he "would not allow the clerk of this court to issue warrants against any officer when strikers were the complainants."

TENTH WEEK

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor replied with evasions to the request of the United Front committee for affiliation. Two children's kitchens were opened to feed a thousand children a day by the United Council of Working Class Housewives.

ELEVENTH WEEK

Five picket lines were attacked within two days, police attempting to conceal their identity by covering their badges in some instances. A children's parade was broken up by police. Albert Weisbord, strike leader, was arrested on charges of "inciting to riot."

TWELFTH WEEK

Weisbord was held under bail of \$30,000. Sheriff George Nimmo of Bergen county read the "Riot act" at the head of a mass picket line in front of Forstmann and Huffmann mill, and the crowd was dispersed at his order by deputies armed with shot guns. Maintaining that the reading and posting of the "Riot act" established a state of virtual martial law, Sheriff Nimmo ordered all meeting halls closed. Forstmann and Huffmann mills obtained a drastic injunction forbidding picketing before its gates and restraining strikers or sympathizers from "advising or consulting with, or encouraging any striking employee" of the mill. The Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic and Vicinity, representing 30,000 citizens, established a mediation committee headed by Judge W. Carrington Cabell. It was known as the "Slavic Committee."

THIRTEENTH WEEK

Weisbord was released under indictments of the grand jury on \$30,000 bail. Governor Harry E. Moore appointed a mediation committee, which demanded that Weisbord should absent himself from negotiation proceedings. The United Front committee refused to allow this, taking the position that an impartial mediation committee should not so impose a limit on either side of its own motion.

FOURTEENTH WEEK

At the largest mass meeting held during the strike, the strikers with union cards voted to retain Weisbord as their leader in negotiation proceedings as well as in conduct of the strike. Weisbord then announced his intention of stepping aside if the interests of settlement seemed to require it. An injunction restraining Sheriff George Nimmo from closing and preventing strike meetings was obtained by the American Civil Liberties union. The sheriff withdrew from Garfield.

FIFTEENTH WEEK

Picketing began again at Forstmann and Huffmann mills under a greatly modified injunction, which limited the number of pickets to eight. The negotiations of the Slavic committee with the mill owners were terminated when the mills announced that they would not meet the strikers at the time they had appointed.

SIXTEENTH WEEK

Crowds of strikers returning to their homes from their meeting halls were attacked and clubbed by Passaic police. A picket captain who was arrested on charges growing out of the disturbance was badly beaten in his jail cell.

SEVENTEENTH WEEK

The Associated Societies and Parishes held a mass meeting at which they endorsed the strikers' demands. They sent a committee of thirty citizens to Washington to press for a senate investigation of conditions in Passaic and in the textile industry.

EIGHTEENTH WEEK

The Slavic committee reported in a public statement to the press that its failure to effect a meeting between strikers and mill owners resulted from "uncertainty and distrust both within and without" in the Botany mill, and "a domineering determination to work its own will at any cost" in the Forstmann and Huffmann mill. The statement declared that all other mills were willing to grant the strikers' demand that they be permitted to form their own union. The Associated Societies and Parishes held a public demonstration of sympathy for the textile strikers, declaring that it must throw the weight of its influence on the side of the strikers. A relief conference, at which a half million American workers were represented by

delegates, met in Passaic and pledged further support for the textile strikers' relief projects.

NINETEENTH WEEK

United Front committee met with all independent textile unions at a conference of their delegates in New York city, and received their endorsement and promises of further aid. Plans for amalgamation of all existing textile groups into one union were considered. This week was filled with small clashes between strikers and police at the picket lines.

TWENTIETH WEEK

A series of bomb outrages began in Passaic and nearby towns, for which police attempted to attach the blame to strikers. No arrests were made, however, and the bombings were apparently the work of provocateurs.

TWENTY-FIRST WEEK

There was much violence during this week. Bombings continued; there were fifteen arrests in one day; a striker's child was shot; a Lodi picket was wounded by a strike-breaker and later fired on by police officers who arrested him; a county policeman shot at a woman striker; there were many cases of beating of strikers by police.

TWENTY-SECOND WEEK

A New York relief conference was added to the list of conferences in cities all over the country in which all sympathetic agencies unite their efforts to secure funds for the relief of the strikers. The resolution calling for investigation of the textile industry by the United States senate was killed in the committee of education and labor.

TWENTY-THIRD WEEK

Strike-breakers from New England towns were brought in to Passaic by agents for Botany mills. A "breach of promise" suit brought against Albert Weisbord by an unknown woman was revealed by the New York World to have been instituted by a "confidential agent" employed by Botany mills.

TWENTY-FOURTH WEEK

A Citizens' committee, composed of "clergymen, professional men, bankers, manufacturers, and heads of civic and social organizations," was organized to drive Albert Weisbord out of Passaic and to urge the strikers to return to the mills first and attempt adjustment of their demands afterwards.

TWENTY-FIFTH WEEK

The Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic and Vicinity, attacked the stand taken by the Citizens' committee, declaring that it was political in origin, and strike-breaking in intent. A first contingent of one hundred and fifty strikers' children were sent to summer vacation camps. Over two hundred were placed in private homes throughout the east where added care and a place to play out of doors could be given them.

TWENTY-SIXTH WEEK

Senator William E. Borah was expected to attempt mediation between the mill owners and the strikers. The General Relief committee opened an eight-acre playground for strikers' children, fully equipped with lunch and milk stations, playground facilities and in charge of trained playground supervisors. Eight hundred children a day are accommodated.

TWENTY-SEVENTH WEEK

A delegation from the Furriers' union of New York city, which recently won a notable strike, visiting Passaic, was set upon and battered by police. As a result, the Slavic committee begins to move to secure the recall of Mayor McGuire and Director Preiskel. A. F. of L. speakers at protest meeting.

As the Employers See the Strike

IT MAY BE WELL at this point to take time to look at the strike as the employers see it. Colonel Johnson of the Botany mill furnished a representative of this paper with a copy of Open Shop Bulletin No. 14, published by

the National Association of Manufacturers under date of May 22, 1926. In this bulletin was an article entitled "The Passaic Woolen Strike" by Noel Sargent, manager industrial relations department national association of manufacturers. Colonel Johnson said that, although he was not an "open shop" man, he had read this article with care and that he found himself in general agreement with it. The article is too long for quotation. It begins, however, by seeking to prove three things, namely, that the present strike was started by communists, is led by communists, and has a communistic background and purpose. Mr. Sargent supplies a sort of "who's who" of the strike and strike supporters, seeking to show that they are communists. The leaders take drastic exception to this list, saying that some names in it are wholly fictitious, others are of persons who have not been in the United States for a long time, and that still others have not played a part of any importance in the strike. But the list has undoubtedly looked impressive to those who have read it without material for judging its accuracy. The closing paragraphs in Mr. Sargent's article read:

We have in this strike an example of the communist methods, and of deliberate public deception as to issues and conditions. In a joint statement issued May 14, Botany Worsted mills, Forstmann and Huffmann company, Gera mills, New Jersey Worsted Spinning company, Garfield Worsted mills, and Passaic Worsted Spinning company declare that disaster faces both the mill owners and the entire community. It was asserted that there is little hope of any volume of business and that only a relatively small number of former employees now idle can hope for employment. The operators point out that:

"The community in general—merchant, banker, house owner, laborer—in fact every citizen and resident—is so intimately related to and dependent upon the local woolen industry that any disaster involving that industry will certainly have its equally disastrous effects upon the community as a whole. The season is now so far advanced that for most of the mills there is no longer any prospect of orders in volume. For these it is only a matter of salvaging as much of the wreckage as is possible, and in salvaging, of entertaining the hope of an improvement in business which is not yet in sight."

Mills in other communities have obtained business which the Passaic mills would have handled had there been no strike, and under the best circumstances only a portion of usual fall deliveries could be made. I am, however, reliably advised that many of the mills involved will probably move some departments to other communities, and will never again employ as many workers in the Passaic district as before the strike.

Conclusion: There would have been no strike if the communists had not gone into Passaic and Bergen counties to start it. The mills could obtain all the workers they could employ, and at pre-strike wages, if the intimidation resorted to were removed. The mills will never again operate in the Passaic district with normal work forces, which means an immense loss to Passaic woolen workers and a blow to community prosperity. The strikers are thus being victimized by their leaders and alleged champions!

Consideration of this picture, which Colonel Johnson indicates expresses his own attitude toward the strike, shows only two features of importance, the threat of communism and the intimidation of would-be workers. It can be taken for granted that there never has been a major industrial conflict, and probably never will be one, in which there will not be pressure brought to keep the strike from being broken by would-be workers. Compared with other great

strikes, the present one in Passaic is remarkable for the small amount of this sort of thing even reported. And as between assaults on would-be workers by strikers and on strikers by the police, the score is at least even, if it does not incline heavily in favor of the strikers.

There remains, then, as the dominant idea in the minds of the operators, overshadowing everything else in this strike, and creating an issue on which they are willing to chance what their own statement calls "disaster," the political and social creed of the leaders of the United Front committee, and particularly of Albert Weisbord. Which makes it time to turn to a study of Weisbord.

Weisbord

IT MUST at least tickle Weisbord's vanity—which it can be assumed that he, in company with most other mortals, has—to see how important an issue his own personality has become in the Passaic strike. That he, slender, dark, nervous, bespectacled young Jew, of a type to be found on almost every college campus in the eastern states, could have so quickly become the hero of 16,000 inarticulate but devoted followers, and the devil of most of the "respectable" element, is in itself something of a marvel and a mystery. What sort of a person is this fabled Weisbord? We may well start with the formal autobiography in the "Labor Who's Who":

Weisbord, Albert. Organizer, teacher, lawyer, born December 9, 1900, New York, N. Y. Father, mfr. Prim., gram. and high sch., Brooklyn, N. Y. A. B., Coll. City of N. Y., 1921. LL.B., Harvard law sch., 1924. Formerly newsboy, grocery clerk, clothing factory worker, soda dispenser, instr. rehabilitation work, Coll. City of N. Y.; teacher for Rand Sch. of Social Science, N. Y.; taught English to foreigners, New York evening schools; natl. dir. young people's dept. of Socialist party, 1921-24; natl. secy. Young People's Socialist league, 1922-24; asst. org. New England dist. Socialist party, June to Nov. 1924; Resigned from Socialist party and joined Workers party, 1924. Member Phi Beta Kappa. Author unpubl. mss. on hist. of non-official education agencies in England and America for past 300 years. Address, 150 Chandler St., Boston, Mass.

Perhaps the best newspaper sketch of Weisbord was published in the Newark Evening News, of Newark, N. J., signed by the initials, M. A. W. In the course of this article it was said:

It is hard to get Weisbord to talk about himself. Until recently he has persistently refused to discuss himself, declining interviews with eager metropolitan reporters and the so-called "sob-sister."

"I am of no importance in the strike," he would say. "Let's talk about the strike itself, and the reasons for it."

Besides, Weisbord has another reason for not wanting to talk about himself. He fears misrepresentation, distortion. He doesn't want the issues of the strike sidetracked to a discussion of himself.

It doesn't require much space to chronicle the events of his life. He was born December 9, 1900, at 56 Manhattan street, New York; attended grammar school and was graduated when thirteen. Then, his parents having moved to Brooklyn, he attended the boys' high school there and was graduated when a little more than 16. Next he was a student at the College of the City of New York, receiving his A.B. Before that, however, he was in the reserve officers' training camp at Camp Devens. The war ended before he received a commission. After grad-

uating from City College he taught English and mathematics at the rehabilitation school for soldiers for a year or so.

After that he went to Harvard law school, was graduated and passed the bar examinations.

"But I never intended to practice," he explained. "I only studied law so as to better understand the system. I wanted to know all the tricks of the capitalists."

At both City College and Harvard, to a greater extent at the latter, Weisbord says, the other students looked askance at him because of the radical views which he never hesitated to voice.

"They thought I was some sort of a nut," he remarked, grinning. "Some of them, however, such as the richer ones, treated me pretty decently. They were on the other side of the fence, but we got along well together even though we disagreed."

Weisbord is the holder of a Phi Beta Kappa key. Also, he can play chess blindfolded, which, as all who understand chess know, is a considerable accomplishment.

This is the type of man who has thrown in his lot with the workers, a type with which employers have rarely had to cope. He talks two vernaculars—one of the student, the other of the masses. Despite his education, he seldom talks over the heads of the ordinary workers. He knows their limitations, their psychology, their conditions. He holds a union card as a silk weaver in Paterson.

"No," he replied to a question, "I never practiced law, except in a few instances when I appeared for myself. I lost every time."

Again he smiled. It was the smile of the boy just out of college. It's this aspect of him which makes it difficult to understand the other aspect—the bitter denunciator, the flayer of the bosses, the stirrer of class animosity, the exhorter of industrial war.

In conversation his voice is low-pitched, even weak at times. On the platform it is stentorian, vibrating. A metamorphosis occurs. From the quiet discouser on industrial problems comes a roaring labor agitator. His dark eyes flash, his voice strengthens, thin hands gesticulate, he walks back and forth restlessly afire.

Perhaps no other incident in his life gives a closer insight into the nature of Weisbord than the occasion of the rupture with his father. It indicates that no matter what other charge can be brought against him he cannot be called inconsistent. Here's the incident, in his own words:

"My father, of course, being a clothing manufacturer, did not agree with my views on industry. However, he rather tolerated them, letting me alone as long as I was 'up in the air,' as he expressed it. But when I tried to organize the workers in his factory, he and I came to the parting of the ways."

That's his way of telling it. Probably there's a much longer story behind it than that. Weisbord knew that when he cut down his father's profits he was cutting down what one day would be his. If the workers made more his father would make less. Yet this man, then twenty years old, determined to start his organizing at home. The Passaic mill owners wish he had kept it there!

Of course, the whole question at Passaic, in the eyes of those who would bring the strike to an end, is as to the communistic affiliations of Weisbord. Weisbord himself has tried to steer clear of that question, holding it not germane to the issue, and persons who have watched the strike closely throughout its course, and are not themselves communists, have agreed without reservation that neither Weisbord, nor the strike leaders who are suspected or avowed communists, have spent any time preaching communism in this strike. While it is morally certain that Weisbord has never addressed a public meeting since the beginning of the strike without having every word he said noted for future reference—and he has been addressing them at the rate of

at least one a day for more than six months—there have not so far been produced six sentences in which this young man has been caught even indirectly advocating communism.

Yet the question of Weisbord's communistic connections will not down. Is Weisbord a communist? Question him on that subject, as a representative of The Christian Century did, and you find him exceedingly hard to pin down. There are nuances of phraseology which suggest his legal training. It is probable that he is not, at the present moment, a dues-paying member of the Workers (communist) party. But that he is a communist in his personal, political and social philosophy is altogether likely. The attempt which he makes to keep from acknowledging this at the present moment, when there is such concerted effort to hinge the whole outcome of the strike on this single point, is understandable. But it has slight chance of success. Weisbord might as well accept his personal classification as a communist, and let it go at that. He can produce a clean bill of health so far as preaching communism in the present strike is concerned.

And there is, perhaps, this further notation to be made: If Weisbord is a communist, his radical intimates are afraid that he is not now as much of a communist as he once was. It is hard to put down on paper, in cold and fixed letters, ideas that come only as half-expressed hints in informal conversation. But, after talking to those who knew Weisbord in the days of the strikes at Lawrence and Paterson, one comes away with the clear conviction that he is by no means the fire-eating, intransigent, neck-or-nothing communistic nemesis of the capitalists that he then was. As he grows older, he grows—like so many—more conservative!

In his attitude toward religion, the church, and such social phenomena, Weisbord is thoroughly cynical. He believes the church to be completely the victim of economic forces which it cannot control, and to be so bound up to the capitalistic order that it cannot if it would render effective service in the securing of economic liberty for the workers. In the present strike, he is thoroughly suspicious of the leading protestant clergy of Passaic. Because he feels, in his soul, that they are the creatures of a capitalistic overlordship which he despises, he would probably find it difficult to conduct himself toward them personally with even ordinary civility. Yet this young man is an idealist if ever one lived. He lives a life of the most rigid asceticism, neither smoking nor drinking, not—as he puts it—because of any desire to be an ascetic, but because of his dominant purpose to "keep fit" for his work. His weekly income he limits to \$25—the average wage of the textile workers whom he is leading on strike—because of his belief that a labor leader should not indulge in a standard of living above that of the mass of workers. He says that he tries so to live each day that he can stop at any moment and ask himself, "Is what I am doing now contributing toward the purpose I have in view?" and be sure that the answer will be affirmative.

Because the strike stands deadlocked today over the personality of Weisbord, it has been felt wise to deal thus extensively with his character. Now, in connection with the next topic, consideration will be given the larger question of the relationship of communism, as such, to the strike.

The A. F. of L. and the Strike

THREE IS AT WORK today in Passaic and vicinity a Citizens' committee which is attempting to bring the strike to an end. Of the proposals of this committee more will be said in another place. A letter dated July 8, signed by the chairman of this committee, and bearing evidence of being a stock form used in approaching the public generally, contains this sentence: "The American Federation of Labor, through its national and different state heads, has condemned it (the strike) and warned its members against assisting it in any way, on the ground that the leaders are avowed communists endeavoring to destroy organized labor and establish the soviet type of union in its stead." Behind this sentence—which states a fact—there lies an aspect, not only of the Passaic strike, but of the labor situation in America as a whole, which merits careful attention.

On July 6 the American Federation of Labor sent out a general letter addressed "To All Organized Labor," and signed by William Green, the president, and Frank Morrison, the secretary, of the federation. The important sections in this letter read:

The executive council of the American Federation of Labor, at a meeting held in Cincinnati, Ohio, beginning June 25th, gave serious consideration not only to the communistic activities among the working people in many sections of the country but also to the formation of organizations assuming to speak for labor in the name of labor, and which the executive council believes are communistic in make-up, in principle and in purpose. We regard these organizations, as well as others which may be dual in nature and character, as dangerous, unnecessary and without any standing in the bona fide labor movement of the country. For instance, facts disclose that the so-called "United Front committee" which organized and is carrying on a strike in Passaic, New Jersey, has no relationship to the American Federation of Labor. The leaders of this United Front committee are prominently identified with the communistic movement in the United States. It is reasonable to conclude, because of their relationship to the communistic party, that they are interested in advancing the cause of communism.

The executive committee of the American Federation of Labor regards the organization in charge of the strike at Passaic, New Jersey, as a dual organization. As such dual organization, no recognition can be given to it by the American Federation of Labor. We cannot countenance dual organizations in the labor movement of our country. . . . The American Federation of Labor is the bona fide organized labor movement of our country. It speaks with authority for the working people throughout America. There is room within it for all the working men and women within its jurisdiction. The door of organized labor is open to all wage earners. They are invited to be part of us. There is no need for dual organizations, for dual organizations only tend to weaken and destroy the economic strength and collective influence of the wage earners of the land."

This can be taken as a very fair and candid statement of the reasons which have induced the A. F. of L., its individual officers, and persons in close relations with it, to condemn the present strike. It will be seen that the main points of objection are two, namely, the rise of what Mr. Green and Mr. Morrison call another "dual organization," and the connection of communism with the leaders of the United Front committee.

The objection to dual organizations is a necessary implication of the form of organization of the A. F. of L. The federation is a grouping of autonomous craft unions, hav-

ing as its basic principle the absolutely independent character of each union within its own craft. In other words, the federation itself cannot coerce any union as to its course of action within its own craft, but the whole force of the organized labor movement—insofar as that movement is included within the federation—is pledged to protect each constituent union against the growth of rival unions within the field of its interest. So completely is the A. F. of L. committed to this principle—indeed, so built upon it—that there even have been instances when the craft unions connected with the federation have offered cooperation to employers to break the strength of rival, or dual, labor bodies. A conspicuous case of this kind happened at the last attempt of the clothing manufacturers of Chicago to break the power of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers in the Chicago market. The Amalgamated, under the leadership of Mr. Sidney Hillman, is an independent body, not affiliated with the A. F. of L. In this way it stands, in the eyes of the A. F. of L., as a dual organization, and even though it is infinitely more powerful and progressive than the United Garment Workers union—the "regular" body—that body was justified, in A. F. of L. practice, in siding with the employers in the attempt to defeat the Amalgamated strike.

It is the same sort of situation which the A. F. of L. sees in Passaic. In this case the industrial dispute lies within the field of textiles. In this field there is a regular craft union—the United Textile Workers of America. This union is not a strong body. It enrolls but a small proportion of the organized textile workers of the country—and it is claimed that less than 15 per cent of all the textile workers of America are organized in any kind of union whatever!—and it follows a conservative course in regard to attempted organizations in as yet unorganized fields. In the present instance, for example, this "regular" union evidently made up its mind that the Passaic field was not ripe for organization. A letter, signed by Mr. Thomas F. McMahon, international president of the United Textile Workers, under date of July 6, says: "The condition of the textile industry today is deplorable, and because of this condition several months prior to the strike our representative and friends advised the workers in Passaic to bide their time, become members of this international union, and at the right opportunity readjustments of wages and improved working conditions could be brought about."

Because the present struggle in Passaic has not followed this regular line, because the workers have been organized in an independent body—the United Front committee—and have struck without authorization from the United Textile Workers, the "regular" and old-established union has repudiated the strike. Not to do so would be to surrender its claim to exclusive authority in the labor end of the textile industry. And because of this attitude of the United Textile Workers, the A. F. of L. has repudiated the strike. Not to do so would be for the A. F. of L. to surrender the fundamental basis on which its whole federation is built.

So much for the element of "dual organization." The other, and perhaps more disturbing, aspect of the Passaic strike, as the A. F. of L. sees it, is the charge of communism. As has been said, Weisbord is a communist. Communism as such has not been a part of the strike propo-

ganda in Passaic, but there is every reason to believe that the communists are hoping to cash in heavily on the result if the strike is successful. It would be less than human nature if they did not do so. It is, in general terms, the policy of communism in America to fish in such muddy industrial waters as offer, and to claim as much as is possible for the influence which their doctrines have had in securing betterment of the conditions in any industry. In the present instance, it is well to start with an official statement of the communist relation to the strike, as given by Mr. C. E. Ruthenberg, general secretary of the Workers (communist) party, in a letter dated July 12:

The Workers (communist) party supports all the struggles of the workers for higher wages, better working conditions and a higher standard of life. It also carries on a campaign for the organization of the unorganized workers into labor unions to fight for their interests. The textile workers are among the lowest paid and worst exploited workers of this country. They are largely unorganized. The Workers (communist) party has carried on an active campaign for amalgamation of all the unions in the textile industry into one industrial union of textile workers and for an energetic organization campaign to draw into such a union all the textile workers.

Along with this general policy it has placed its organized strength at the service of the striking textile workers of Passaic. It has aided them in their efforts to join a union and supported their fight against the wage cuts and for an increase in wages. It is supporting the campaign to rally the workers throughout the country behind the striking Passaic workers and to help them win their struggle through raising relief funds for their support while on strike.

The Passaic strikers have endeavored to find a way of affiliating their union with the United Textile Workers, the organization of the American Federation of Labor in the textile industry, and thus connecting their struggle with the organized labor movement as a whole. The Workers (communist) party believes that this was a correct policy on the part of the Passaic strikers and supports them in their demands that the American Federation of Labor take up their cause and come to their aid in their fight for the right to organize and for wages which will give them a decent standard of life.

For years now the A. F. of L. has been engaged in a finish fight to eliminate all signs of communist activity within its own ranks. Purging after purging has taken place; sometimes within single unions or even locals, sometimes in the national body, as at the Portland convention in 1923. There are many unions which have made membership in the communist party sufficient cause for expulsion. The reason for this unbending attitude is two-fold. In the first place, the A. F. of L. is opposed to the social and political platform of communism. The A. F. of L. is essentially a conservative organization. There are manufacturers who have not been alert enough to see this, but the actual fact is that there has been no more conservative element within the American industrial situation than the A. F. of L. On general principles, therefore, the federation—which is even yet joining with the National Civic federation and similar bodies in warning this country against having any dealings with Russia—is against any such radical proposals as underlie communism.

In the second place, however, the A. F. of L. fights communism because of the specific program which communism has in view for the reorganization of the federation itself. A careful reading of Mr. Ruthenberg's letter will show, to those familiar with the vocabulary, a frank avowal of this

policy in connection with the present strike. "The Workers (communist) party," says Mr. Ruthenberg, "has carried on an active campaign for amalgamation of all the unions in the textile industry into one industrial union of textile workers." Which means, in other words, that the communist party regards Passaic as one battle in its campaign to change the organization of American labor from its present federation of craft unions—the A. F. of L.—to a federation, or other organization, of industrial unions. Should this change be consummated, the present A. F. of L. would be changed with a completeness which would be equivalent to its being wrecked, and hundreds of labor leaders who have a vested interest in their present jobs would find themselves without a berth.

Given these two factors—the fundamental opposition to dual organizations and the fear of a revolution within its own ranks—and it can be understood why the A. F. of L. has taken the position it has in regard to the Passaic strike. Add to this the suspicion with which the leaders of the old-time A. F. of L. union—most of them English and Scotch—look on the aggressive tactics of non-Nordic textile labor leaders, and you have the psychological as well as the philosophical grounds of this opposition. It is within the truth to say that, if the strike is broken, the A. F. of L. will have borne a conspicuous part in breaking it. For example, the newspapers of Passaic are now printing full-page advertisements, paid for by the Citizens' committee, bearing in bold type, such a message as this: "The Strike Is Lost, Says Henry F. Hilters, secretary of the New Jersey State Federation of Labor." And there follows a letter from Mr. Hilters to the president of the Massachusetts branch of the A. F. of L. in which is this language: "There is no question that the strike is lost. The mill owners could not, even if they wanted to, re-employ one-half of those who went out on strike. . . . In reply to your question in the last paragraph asking whether our state body favors contributions to the United Front committee, I wish to reply emphatically No." (This Mr. Hilters will, by the way, reappear as the labor representative on the committee of mediation appointed by Governor Moore of New Jersey.)

Of much the same significance is the position taken by Mr. John A. Moffatt, conciliation commissioner of the department of labor. Mr. Moffatt, who has been on duty in Passaic for some time, takes practically the same position as does Mr. Hilters, which is not surprising in view of the similarity in viewpoint between the department of labor and the A. F. of L.

On July 14 the League for Industrial Democracy sent out in its weekly release to labor papers, an editorial entitled, "There Is No Middle Ground." "We fail to understand," this editorial began, "how any union man, or indeed any worker or friend of the workers, can hesitate as to where he stands with regard to the Passaic strike. You are either for the strikers, who are putting up one of the most gallant fights in labor history, or you are for the bosses, who have employed every despicable method for breaking strikes." And later this editorial said, "If the A. F. of L. by its action helps to starve the strikers into submission it will not be communism but the whole labor movement which suffers. The one vital thing in America today is the organ-

ization of the unorganized workers. The defeat of the Passaic strike will set that cause back for an indefinite period." But this editorial, written by Norman Thomas, represents the view of labor intelligentsia rather than of the A. F. of L. While the A. F. of L. remains what it now is, a federation of autonomous craft unions, under its present leadership, or a leadership with similar ideals, it will fight not only the Passaic strike, but any strike similarly conceived and directed.

Civil Liberties in the Strike Area

THE AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION has played a somewhat conspicuous part in the Passaic strike, because it early became apparent that a determined attempt would be made to break the morale of the workers by a denial of their civil rights. It will be remembered that in 1920 there was a determined attempt to abridge the civil liberties of the people of Passaic under the guise of police regulations covering the holding of meetings. With the outbreak of the strike of 1926 this old issue was at once revived. In the main, the attack on the constitutional guarantees has taken three forms: unnecessary police brutality; denial of the right of assembly; denial of the right of free speech. To this might be added the use of arrest without due reason. The Civil Liberties union asserts that it has proof of illegalities committed under all these heads.

Perhaps enough has already been said concerning alleged police brutalities. The present Citizens' committee in Passaic tries to minimize these charges; to say that very few cases of unnecessary roughness on the part of the police occurred, or that in the cases when the police did act in a rough manner they were taunted beyond human endurance. It is altogether likely that there is some measure of truth in both these comments. On the other hand, it is impossible to read such an affidavit as follows without feeling that police savagery has played some part in the Passaic situation. The strike leaders have compiled over a hundred cases in which police brutality is alleged.

Agnes Grenda, of full age, being duly sworn, deposes and says: I was going from Ukrainian hall to my home on May 14. On Parker avenue near the Forstmann and Huffmann mill the police came up and began to chase the people away. I saw the police arrest a woman about half a block away, and then the people began to holler. I did not shout, but Passaic policeman number 73 ran after me and punched me with his club and hit me with his fists, and then arrested me. As a result of this treatment I lost my unborn child the next day and have been sick in bed for two weeks. I have five other children and have never lost a child by miscarriage before. My residence is at 281 Allen street, and I am not a striker, although I worked in the Forstmann and Huffmann mills before the strike began.

As to denial of the right of free speech, the conspicuous instances of this took place in Garfield, during the period when Sheriff Nimmo's mythical "riot law" was in force. As told previously, Sheriff Nimmo, of Bergen county, after reading the riot act and making arrests under it, declared the county to be under riot law, or in other words under the restrictions of the riot act, until he released it. Under this construction, meetings of the strikers, no matter where held, became impossible. A continuation of this situation would

have broken the strike in short order. Under the circumstances, the Civil Liberties union was persuaded to act.

A vacant lot in Garfield was rented by the union, and the Rev. Norman Thomas was brought to a meeting held on this lot to speak on constitutional guarantees. Deputy sheriffs prevented most of the strikers who attempted to attend the meeting from doing so, but Mr. Thomas, together with a group of his friends, arriving by automobile from New York, they entered the lot and the meeting was begun. After Mr. Thomas had been speaking for about ten minutes he was arrested and hustled away by the deputies. It was several hours before his place of incarceration was discovered, and then his bail was found to have been placed at the astonishing amount of \$10,000.

On the same afternoon the Rev. Charles C. Webber, a Methodist pastor of the Church of All Nations of New York, was also arrested for remarking, in the presence of a policeman, that the riot act had not been read preceding the arrest of Mr. Thomas. Mr. Webber was later released.

With the Thomas arrest as a precedent, the Civil Liberties union went to the judicial authorities of New Jersey to bring to an end the reign of Sheriff Nimmo's "riot law." A second meeting was announced to be held in a hired hall in Garfield, and to be addressed by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of the Community church, New York city. Mr. Holmes, accompanied by a group of friends, arrived at the hall to find the doors locked, guarded by deputy sheriffs with loaded guns. For almost three hours Mr. Holmes and his friends sat and looked at the deputies while the deputies looked back at Mr. Holmes and his friends. Then Mr. John Larkin Hughes, an attorney for the Civil Liberties union, appeared and served on Sheriff Nimmo an injunction signed by Vice-Chancellor Bentley. The sheriff ordered his deputies aside; the meeting was held; "riot law" became a thing of the past. Since that time there has been little attempt to interfere with the strikers' freedom of assemblage, although several important halls are closed to them through indirect pressure brought to bear on the proprietors.

Freedom of speech was threatened by the temporary injunction of Vice-Chancellor Bentley, leveled against strikers in the Forstmann and Huffmann mills. The modification of this injunction cared for this issue.

The arrest of Weisbord during the week of April 10 was an example of what might be termed an arbitrary use of the power of arrest. There never seems to have been any serious attempt made to press the formal charges of inciting to riot and inciting hostility against the government on which Weisbord was arraigned. But the strike leader was held in close confinement for two days, not being allowed to communicate even with his lawyers, and then was detained still longer while his friends were attempting to secure the amazing total bail charges of \$30,000. The strikers have always maintained that all the authorities were seeking in this arrest was to remove Weisbord from the scene for a few days at a critical period. The same case also exhibits the demand for what are called excessive bail charges.

At the present time, the cases lodged by the authorities against strikers and their supporters, and the counter-cases for false arrest, assault, and the like, lodged by the strikers

and their supporters against the police, are pending. It is not likely, however, that any of them will ever come to trial. The civil liberties aspect of the strike has not bulked large in recent strike events and the constitutional guarantees are now fairly well admitted.

The Part Played by the Newspapers

THE PART played by the newspapers in the Passaic strike must not be left out of the picture. In it there are two main features: the part played by the papers of New York city, and by those of Passaic itself.

From the first, the newspapers of New York have, in their news reports, shown an unusual degree of sympathy with the strikers. Even such conservative papers as the Sun, the Herald-Tribune, and the Times have carried reports in which the writers were evidently influenced by strong sympathy with the condition of the workers. Interviews with reporters who have been on the Passaic story for New York papers have discovered all of them to be filled with pity for the workers; pity inspired by the sight of the circumstances under which they live and by the prevalence of such diseases as tuberculosis. Strangely enough, about as critical treatment as the strike has received from any New York paper has been in the news columns of the World, although its editorial page has upheld the liberal traditions of that paper. Perhaps the reputed intimacy between Mr. Leary, the World's reporter, and the A. F. of L. may have some bearing on this.

The New York newspapers have undoubtedly been confirmed in their attitude of sympathy toward the strike by the experiences of their reporters at the hands of the police. Several of the reporters say that they were, at one time or another, badly manhandled; others report having been ejected bodily from legal hearings and similar places. At times they claim that their treatment by the police became so bad that it was dangerous to display the police cards which reporters were supposed to carry, so that, to protect themselves, they found it wise to conceal these cards. But the brunt of police displeasure fell on the photographers—especially the photographers for the tabloid picture newspapers of New York, the Mirror, the News and Evening Graphic.

Early in the strike these papers began to carry pictures of police charging crowds of strikers. Many of these pictures apparently showed police in the act of beating most brutally fallen persons, women, and even children. The Citizens' committee now claims that these pictures were "faked"; that the photographers for the tabloid papers either hired police and civilians to take the poses later shown, or that they placed misleading captions on pictures. Unfortunately for the tabloid papers, their reputation in general is not one to make such charges on their face improbable. At any rate, it is clear that for several days the police, in their relations with the news photographers, practically went berserker. Wherever a photographer could be caught, he was; cameras worth thousands of dollars were destroyed; several photographers were badly beaten up. Two of the tabloid newspapers were reported to have planned damage suits against the Passaic police in reprisal; it is not likely, however, that any such suits will ever be pressed.

There are two important daily newspapers in Passaic, the Daily News and the Daily Herald. Both have Associated Press franchises. The strikers say that, at the start of the strike, the Herald was antagonistic to them, both in its editorial and news columns. The News was rather more friendly until the Fortsmann and Huffmann workers struck. After that, both were uniformly unfriendly. Then, suddenly, the Herald took a different tack. Thus, on April 13 it had an editorial beginning: "Public opinion will support the action of the police department in putting under arrest Albert Weisbord." But on April 24 its leading editorial was entitled, "Why Exclude Weisbord?" and spoke of the "implicit confidence" which the strikers had in their leader and the "great skill" with which he had conducted the strike. Mr. Weisbord was also invited to contribute an editorial to the Herald which was printed. As soon as it became clear that the Herald had adopted a policy of greater friendliness toward the workers, the News followed suit. The two papers have sought to maintain this attitude, but at the present time they are giving as much support as possible to the program of the Citizen's committee. However, they still maintain something of a balance by printing in full the statements of the Slavic committee.

Efforts at Strike Settlement

HOW IS THE STRIKE to be settled? There have been nearly a dozen attempts to secure conference or mediation in this strike, all of which have, so far, come to nothing. Some of these have been formal, open offers of mediation. Others have been informal, carried on indirectly and under cover, but nonetheless attempts to find a basis of settlement. The strikers claim that they have responded favorably to every approach made to them; the operators have turned some of the proposals down publicly, to others they have failed to give any reply. Today, with the community sharply divided against itself, the difficulties in the way of settlement seem greater than ever.

The first offer of mediation came from a group of New York clergy and social workers, headed by Rabbi Stephen S. Wise and Dr. John Howard Mellish. It was apparent that such a group of mediators would be very sympathetic with labor, and there was little surprise when the manufacturers publicly expressed their unwillingness to invite this group to function.

The second definite offer came from a group of Passaic clergy, following a conference with Weisbord. This conference developed a rift in the ranks of the local clergy, as will be shown later. But part of the ministers, headed by Father E. F. Schulte, Rev. John Wroblewski, and the Rev. Theodore Andrews, addressed letters to both sides calling for conference. The strikers answered favorably; but one small mill replied, and it called the proposed conference futile.

Mayor McGuire appointed a committee of 26 citizens to investigate the situation, and especially reports of police brutality. This committee might have developed into something of importance, but it held hardly any meetings, and did nothing.

All this came in the early stages of the strike. By the

time three months had passed there was beginning to be felt important pressure from the public. For example, the Daily News on April 10 said:

What stands in the way of a settlement between the striking woolen workers and the mills where they were employed? Is it the strikers, or is it the employers? Each day the strike continues it does incalculable harm to the whole city. The mills are losing, the strikers are losing, and the whole public is losing.

Later, the same editorial, after reciting the basis on which the strikers, through their "Textile Strike Bulletin," had announced their readiness to negotiate, added:

This statement cannot be passed by lightly. It is a calm statement, breathing no defiance, threatening no communism, even making no mention of the name of Albert Weisbord. Can the mills affected permit this statement to stand before the public without answer? A great many of us have been worrying about this situation for eleven weeks. It is time for these mills to tell the public, frankly, where they stand. It is time for these mills to indicate upon what terms they will deal with their striking employees. If the strike can be settled at any time it can be settled now. It can be settled only by conference. The time for the conference is now!

Apparently, the mills heeded this advice to the extent of letting it be known that they would not negotiate with Weisbord. At any rate, the elimination of Weisbord from negotiations has been demanded in every suggested plan of mediation from that time to the present. And it should be added that Weisbord has said that he would step aside from the negotiations, provided that any plan of settlement adopted should be submitted to the United Front committee for final action in behalf of the strikers. This would seem to be a reasonable demand if the democratic principle of allowing the workers to pick their own representatives is to have any standing.

The next important attempt to mediate was that of Governor Moore, of New Jersey. The governor evidently entered the controversy under protest; his nominations for positions on his board of mediation were, to say the least, unfortunate. The personnel of the governor's commission changed rapidly from day to day, but it contained at all times at least one military man, and the one constant figure on it was the secretary of the New Jersey Federation of Labor, the Mr. Henry F. Hilters who has already been quoted. The strikers accepted the governor's proffer, though with apparent hesitation. No public word was ever given by the operators. It has been claimed that the presence of Weisbord was responsible for the failure of the governor's committee. However, Weisbord, at a meeting of 10,000 strikers, held at this time, agreed to withdraw and to have the new union represented by Mr. Henry T. Hunt, a New York attorney, and Mr. Hunt actually did represent the strikers in the preliminary negotiations. The fact seems to be that this committee could not get any clear commitments from the mill owners.

During March both sides were in conference with Secretary of Labor John J. Davis in Washington. Secretary Davis finally put forward a plan which he said did not originate with his department, but was "the best he could get from the mill owners." The plan, in essence, was that the strikers should abandon their strike and go back to the mills upon the word of the owners that they would adjust

the differences. The strikers refused this plan, holding that, in the absence of a strong union, it would be impossible for them successfully to call another strike if the desired adjustments failed to materialize after the workers were again in the mills.

About this time the Passaic chamber of commerce proposed mediation. No attention, so far as known, was paid to this offer.

Then came the most serious effort, up to this time, to end the strike, and the one which came nearest success. About the middle of April the United Slavic societies of Passaic called a meeting, and a mediation committee of seven was appointed, headed by Judge W. Carrington Cabell, the others being Slavic and Hungarian priests and laymen. This committee apparently won the confidence of both sides. Just what its proposals were has never been officially announced, but it seems likely that they were the restoration of the 10 per cent wage cut and the recognition of the right of the workers to organize. After about a month of work the committee believed that it had six of the seven mills lined up to accept this settlement, and was engaged in what proved to be a difficult task of wording the announcement of this fact which should be acceptable to the mill managers, when the Forstmann and Huffman influence was thrown against the settlement, and the other mills were induced to break off negotiations. The Slavic committee thereupon made public a bitter statement, giving its account of what had happened, and came out openly for the strikers.

Since the defeat of the plans of the Slavic committee there have been no mediation efforts of importance, although as these lines are written there are newspaper reports that Senator William E. Borah may be brought in as an umpire. In the meantime, however, there has been organized in Passaic the Citizens' committee, to which frequent reference has already been made. Because this has been mistakenly supposed to be a neutral effort at mediation it can best be mentioned in this connection.

The Citizens' committee, which has now been in existence about a month, has announced no program of mediation. Instead, it has rung the changes on two facts, namely, that the good name of Passaic has suffered from unfavorable and undeserved publicity in connection with the strike, and that the strikers are being misled by communistic agitators, who should be repudiated, while the strikers should return to work and trust themselves to the goodwill of the operators to secure maximum wages. Thus, a letter addressed to a Passaic clergyman by the chairman of this committee, suggesting a sermon in support of its work, says:

The committee is enlisting the aid of every citizen in the communities affected by the long drawn out strike in the woolen mills in an effort to eliminate the communistic agitators who are leading it, and ending the dispute. In this undertaking the Citizen's committee is not actuated by any interest other than that of civic spirit, and deep sympathy for the misled workers. It is anxious to see that they obtain the best wages and working conditions possible. But it realizes, as you must, that the strike called by the United Front committee is not an honest labor dispute which intends to benefit the workers. It is, as its 25-year old leader asserts, "a lesson in revolution," with the workers as pawns.

Declarations made by this committee in favor of repudia-

tion of their leaders by the strikers and immediate and unconditional return to the mills have been distributed to the strike picket lines under Passaic motorcycle police guard. Several of the clergy have been prominent in the work of the committee, four of them receiving severe editorial rebuke from the *New York World* when they took public exception to the action of strike leaders in sending children to a summer camp by a roundabout route, in order to obtain as much publicity for the event as possible.

But if the Citizens' committee is not an agency for mediation, it seems to have been successful in dividing Passaic into two partisan camps. Its proposals have been bitterly attacked by the Slavic societies committee, which is now officially known as the Associated Societies and Parishes of Passaic and Vicinity. Declaring that the Citizens' committee is interested only in getting the workers back into the mills so that house-rents may be paid and local stores may recover from their strike depression, this committee, which represents all sorts of social and religious organizations among the foreign-born of Passaic, is carrying on a bitter counter-agitation. The present tone of the Associated Societies committee may be gauged from such words as these:

We are, we know, *persona non grata* in the eyes of the Citizens' committee. You, and you alone, have said that we are supporting the leaders of the strike when you know that the strikers are our own people, blood of our blood, flesh of our flesh, for whom we have been laboring these past many long and weary weeks. . . . Gentlemen, as long as you desire it, we will keep out of your sight, both in business and socially. . . . The public seems to have some trouble in differentiating between the committees at work for the strikers and against the strikers. In order, therefore, not to confuse the public and to make it easier for them to know who is with the strikers, we suggest to the Citizens' committee that they adopt a name in keeping with their avowed work in this community, and adopt the name of the 'Strike-Breakers' committee.' We will also adopt a name in line with our work, that of the 'Strike-Winning committee.'

No matter how the strike ends, it will be a long time before Passaic is free from the communal suspicion and hatred which it is breeding.

The Churches and the Strike

IN PASSAIC there is much the same line of social demarcation between churches as has been seen dividing the community itself—and it has been accentuated by the present alignment between Citizens' committee and Slavic committee. On the west side of the railroad tracks in the comfortable suburban section of the city rise the principal protestant churches. In these gather congregations varying in membership from perhaps three hundred to eight hundred. These congregations include mill superintendents, foremen, clerical workers and occasional mill owners, though apparently none of the latter from the striking mills. The preachers are quick to assert that no influence has been exerted upon the pulpit, which is free to speak as it will. But obviously the psychology of these groups is that of the possessing classes.

On the other side of the tracks the situation is totally different. Here great churches tower up among the squalid tenement houses in which the mill workers live. But these churches are for the most part not protestant. They are

of the various catholic branches—Roman, Greek Catholic, orthodpx Greek Catholic, independent Polish, Slavic. Between these churches there are racial and national lines drawn. In the present strike these lines have come to the surface at times. Just now they are in abeyance.

This is the church world of the striker. It is perhaps significant that one of the charges against the conduct of the strike most frequently made by the protestant ministers is that its leadership is anti-religious, but that the priests of the churches which the strikers actually attend are, almost without exception, supporting the strike. Nor do they seem as much concerned with the anti-religious tendencies of the leaders as with the living conditions of the workers; with them the cry is not "Weisbord must be eliminated" but "The workers must have a right to organize."

It is the purpose of this section to tell the part which the churches, and their ministers, have played in the strike. There is a current feeling, outside Passaic, that they have done nothing. There is an idea that, at least so far as the protestants are concerned, they have been ready to take their cue from the mill operators. In much this mood McAlister Coleman, who frequently does "feature stuff" for the *New York World*, wrote in the bulletin of the Civic club of New York:

The churches, with one or two rare exceptions, have once more betrayed the spirit of that Nazarene carpenter whom they profess to worship. Norman Thomas spoke truly and courageously when he told a group of Presbyterians gathered in Passaic that they are hypocrites who "prattle of law enforcement, the golden rule and the Savior, and do nothing to practice those doctrines when there is need within their own yard—the textile strike area." Protestant ministers are constantly bemoaning the fact that they are "losing their hold on the people." They go in for all sorts of vaudeville stunts in futile competition with the dance-hall and the movie. They are forever pounding their pulpits and yowling about the sins of the younger generation, who know not the ways of their fathers. And when they have an opportunity to prove their sincerity they fall flat on their fat faces. There is no health in them. As long as they continue to lick the boots of every labor-sweating employer, so long will they talk to empty pews. Passaic has proved once more, though further proof was hardly needed, that the protestant church in this country is an organization of, by, and for profiteers.

Incidentally Norman Thomas's remarks were made to a little group of interested preachers who remained to hear him discuss what the Jersey City presbytery sitting as such had voted not to hear him discuss—though it was later admitted that his standing as a corresponding member of the presbytery gave him the right to speak without other action by the presbytery. Apparently the preachers who wanted to hear him had forgotten that technical point and those who remembered had kept silent! At any rate, the presbytery, as such, defended itself from hearing anything about this strike in its territory!

It may be further remarked in passing that the point of view represented by Coleman and Thomas was even more dramatically expressed by the peripatetic preacher, "Bill" Simpson, who turned up at the Presbyterian church in Passaic one important Sunday when the pastor had his benevolent sermon ready to deliver and without permission or introduction, and before the preacher knew what was happening, stood up in his pew and called the wealthy

parishioners to judgment for the shameful conditions among them—and was ejected from the church by the ushers for his pains.

One sympathizes with the uncompromising demands of preachers like this and gladly acknowledges their prophetic mission. At least one protestant clergyman of Passaic, Rev. Theodore Andrews, of St. George's Episcopal church, holds similar views, conceiving of Christianity as revolutionary in character and the church as obligated to side with the oppressed. But the case is not so easily disposed of. Conversation with preachers who take another viewpoint convinces one of their sincerity. Preachers whose theological studies and subsequent pastorates have failed to acquaint them with economic history and economic philosophy find themselves confused in the face of a situation such as that which confronts the town of Passaic. "A man goes through but one strike in a lifetime," said one of these. "We need expert guidance." The Methodist minister, Dr. Blair S. Latshaw, claims that many of the local pastors are taking "a passionate interest" in the situation, but says that situation is so complex that folks who have lived in Passaic a lifetime and thought they knew each other do not know now what to expect from each other.

This confusion in thinking found expression at the session of the Newark annual conference of the Methodist church, held in Paterson last March. When the social service commission of this body brought in a report referring to industrial disputes, the report, on motion of Dr. Latshaw, was recommitted in order to secure definite mention of the Passaic strike. The report thus amended called for "the establishment of the American standard of living, supported by adequate wages for work well performed." But this expression of interest in the ends which the strikers seek came only after this Methodist body had voted to "commend the attitude of the American federation of labor in condemning the importation of an un-American ultra-radical outside labor leadership in local disputes."

The most conspicuous part played by any clergyman has been taken by the Rev. George H. Talbott, minister of the First Presbyterian church of Passaic, and president of the local ministerial association. Mr. Talbott says that he began his personal investigations within two weeks after the outbreak of the strike and that he has had no less than 115 interviews on the subject with persons and groups representing all points of view. Many of these have been held in his own study. He approached the strike, he says, with no prejudice for or against either side, but with a feeling that the human and moral values involved must be conserved. It was his thought that the ministerial association might act as mediator in the strike. Indeed, he set his heart upon having the clergymen play a constructive role. With the secretary of the association, Mr. Andrews, already mentioned, Dr. Latshaw, pastor of the First Methodist church, and Mr. Herbert B. Parker, general secretary of the Passaic Y. M. C. A., as supporters,—these seem to constitute what might be called the working membership of the ministers' association, which is not strong—he set to work for this end.

Mr. Talbott's contact with Col. Johnson brought him in touch with two representatives of the conciliation depart-

ment of the United States department of labor, Mr. Moffatt and Mr. Liller who had long been at work on the Passaic situation. These gave him information concerning the alleged "red" connections of the strike leaders which Mr. Talbott says weighed heavily with him and which apparently influenced all his subsequent actions, and through him the course of the executive committee of the ministerial association. His contact with the strikers led to a meeting of the clergy at strike headquarters, called and presided over by Weisbord. It was an unfortunate meeting. Talbott irritated Weisbord, who had understood that it was to be an informal attempt to get together, by appearing with a stenotypist—for his own protection, Talbott says, but Weisbord naturally interpreted it otherwise. Weisbord nettled some of the clergymen by his refusal to answer to their satisfaction whether he believed in God and "American institutions as they exist today," so that Talbott and one other preacher left the meeting from which several had withdrawn earlier. The thirteen preachers who remained sent the letter to mill owners and united front committee mentioned elsewhere. That night Mr. Talbott, speaking at a forum in the Y. M. C. A. made an address on "American Institutions" which is worth some attention for the light which it throws on the working of the mind of this ministerial leader. He began by expressing his sympathy with the demands of the workers, using such words as these:

Any man who works eight hours a day faithfully should be able to earn enough that his wife need not labor through the night or to labor through the day, but remain at home giving the children the motherly attention which any mother has the God-given right to give her children. Likewise, it is a terrific indictment of society when children are reared in such a condition that the gentle motherings of the one closest to them cannot be given. It is a bad thing for America when mothers cannot give to their children what God intended they should give. . . . If any industry cannot exist without drawing upon the reserve strength of the worker it is very questionable whether or not that industry is beneficial to our country.

This was plain speech, and much to the point on the issues involved in the strike. It moved the Passaic Daily News to say editorially:

It is time the public had some authoritative information on this issue. There are, as Mr. Talbott pointed out, two questions involved, first, the question of the justice of the strike demands, and, second, the soundness of the strike leadership. These two issues are both important, but Mr. Talbott has properly emphasized the first as the first.

It is open to question, however, whether Mr. Talbott really emphasized "the first as the first." A careful reading of his speech, from a copy which he himself supplied, suggests that the major emphasis was on the second point, to which was given by far the more extended attention. In this connection he said such things as this:

Those who are leading this strike here in our community have not convinced me that the charges made against their ultimate purposes are not justified. Those purposes are the ultimate overthrow by any means of the basic structure of our civilization. The essentials of our civilization are the home, the church, the state. Too much advice has come from those who are at variance with or diametrically opposed not only to our form of government, but to our historic educational and religious institutions. I attended the meeting of ministers in the strike

headquarters hoping that I would secure evidence to the effect that what I had heard would be disproved. I failed to receive the evidence I had hoped for. I have no patience with any man who claims to be an American citizen who will not at a suitable opportunity dispel from any mind the impression that he is not in accord with our form of government and does not cherish our historic institutions. I cannot believe that Theodore Roosevelt would allow anyone to remain in the dark as to his loyalty to our institutions. I cannot in any way imagine Woodrow Wilson refusing to tell what his beliefs are about our country when challenged to do so. No man who loves our country will ever allow any person to remain in the dark about his loyalty to the American state. . . .

I suggest to the employes that they repudiate their present leadership and seek out from the citizenship of our community men known to them, and known to the community, who will advise them. There are a number of men in our city who are sound in the head, loyal in the heart, broad in sympathies, who will, I am sure, counsel with them. Such individuals would lend dignity to a cause now unfortunately discredited because of equivocation and bad political associations.

No one reading the address of which the above are typical quotations can justly accuse the preacher who gave it of indifference. The criticism is on other grounds, and it must be extended to other protestant clergymen in Passaic as well. Men who are naive enough to take at face value the mysterious references of government representatives to dreadful "red" revelations which might be made, or who can seriously expect the workers to accept such a suggestion as is in Mr. Talbott's last paragraph, cannot do much to help in such a situation. With all their goodwill, they are too little aware of the significance of the new surging life of the Slavic people at the other end of their town—people who are coming to feel that they should have more from America and democracy than they are receiving from Passaic and its mills and who will follow leadership which speaks in these terms. "To these people the strike is a crusade," said a Y. W. C. A. secretary who has been frequently at Passaic during the past few weeks. It is this crusade-like quality in the strike which the protestant preachers have failed to see.

While Mr. Talbott and the ministerial association were thus becoming more and more engrossed in the relation of communism to the strike, another group of clergymen were finding an important place in the most important effort at mediation which has been made to date. These were the priests of the workers' churches—Polish, Slavic, Hungarian, Russian, Italian. It was this group which carried the most intelligent and effective propaganda to Washington. No legal proof exists of the results of the work of the Slavic committee, but numbers of persons who were on the inside of the effort have said that a basis of settlement had actually been found, involving restoration of the wage cut and recognition of a union, when strong opposition, emanating from the Forstmann and Huffmann interests, broke up the understanding.

Following this Mr. Talbott attempted to join with some of the leading Slavic clergy to initiate another conference. By this time Weisbord had agreed to keep out of all negotiations, and his name did not figure. But the mills were, by this time, a unit in demanding that any organization of workers be by company unions, along the lines already established in the Forstmann and Huffmann mills, and

naturally, in view of this, nothing came of the effort.

In the midst of the futile efforts of the Passaic preachers to deal with a situation concerning which, it must be admitted, effort by other groups had also proved futile, came the offer of help from the federal council of churches—and at two points. The council informally but definitely offered the services of James Myers, the industrial secretary of its social service commission, to the Passaic ministerial association, to help in any way possible toward mediation. And it made known to the association that it would welcome an invitation to come in and make a study of the whole industrial situation after the manner of studies it has made in other communities which have been the scene of industrial strife. These two offers were related; they were part of the same effort of the federal council to take a hand in the situation, which was obviously of more than local concern. It is to be regretted that the ministerial association did not avail itself of the opportunity to have the services of James Myers. Mr. Myers' personal history in the field of industrial relations is on record in the successful "representative government" plan in the Duchess bleachery at Wappinger Falls, N. Y., for which he was largely responsible. He has spent some time at Passaic during the present strike and has established friendly contacts with employers and strike leaders.

At first it seemed that the ministerial association would accept the second offer. Secretaries of the council sat in conference with the executive committee of the ministers. Finally an invitation was extended to the research department of the council to submit a tentative plan of study. Such a plan was submitted but later the executive committee sent word to the council that it had decided not to sponsor such a study, the chief reason given being lack of community interest. It is easy to understand this indifference. When the whole life of a community is disrupted, what the community thirsts for is not, as one of the preachers put it, "another book." It wants settlement. It wants, as another preacher exclaimed "to get these thousands of men back to work; to get a million dollars worth of business started." The proposed study would contribute not directly to this, but to wider ends.

The decision of the executive committee not to cooperate with the federal council in a plan of study was apparently accepted by the council as final. The policy of the council is not to go into a community without invitation from a representative local group. But some of the cooperating groups within the constituent bodies of the council were not content to let the matter rest. The council began to receive communications from national bodies and individual churchmen saying in effect, "We have a stake in this Passaic matter. The church is putting missionary money and effort into industrial communities like Passaic. We want to know the facts. You are our servant and you are equipped to make investigation." The secretaries of the board of national missions of the Presbyterian church, the department of social relations of Congregational churches, the Inquiry, the Methodist federation for social service, the board of social service of the diocese of New Jersey of the Protestant Episcopal church, the executive secretary of the national council of the Protestant Episcopal church, department of social service, were among those who thus communicated with the

federal council of churches, requesting it to inaugurate a study.

As a result and after a series of conferences with interested persons and after again establishing friendly contact with the Passaic preachers, a conference was called by the council for July 23. The purpose of the conference according to the call was to give information and advice to the council on this important subject. In some ways the meeting was memorable. To it came, on one of the hottest days of July, about seventy persons, five members of the Passaic ministerial association—two of them incidentally members of the Citizens' committee and two of them members of the Slavic committee—and other representatives of the Passaic people including a delegation from the local Y. W. C. A. which has been engaged in long hours of discussion of the local situation with members of the national board of the Y. W. C. A.; people from outside of Passaic, including preachers from neighboring New Jersey towns and representatives of boards, and several secretaries of the federal council.

Out of the meeting came a resolution which, as interpreted by the mover and as understood by those composing the meeting which unanimously adopted it, laid upon the federal council a larger order than it has yet undertaken for any single area—a task which if entered upon as there is reason to believe it will be, will set several departments of the council—departments of federating churches, social service and research, for instance—at work in northern New Jersey in a project looking toward acquainting all elements in that community with the problems involved, and setting groups to work together at solving those problems.

There is some measure of reassurance in the announcement of this approaching study. Under federal council auspices the work is certain to be well done. But it is impossible, standing in Passaic today and looking at the situation as it now exists, not to wonder whether the protestant churches there can possibly, in this generation, reestablish any relations of confidence with the workers there. The Passaic situation is not only of importance to Passaic. It bears its message to the churches of the nation. And those churches will, if they are wise, watch carefully to see what the churches of Passaic and northern New Jersey do to repair the breaches which this strike has certainly driven between them and the laboring portion of this industrial community.

Summary

THIS, then, is an attempt to depict Passaic, the city of the great textile strike of 1926. If the account has seemed long and tortuous, it must be borne in mind that the situation at Passaic has developed through long months and years, and has become so involved that it has thrust an entire community into confusion. Confusion! That seems to be the word wherewith to summarize the prevailing mood in Passaic. Is such confusion always to accompany and surround America's industrial disputes? Certainly it will unless Americans learn to think objectively, and with active goodwill, on the issues which such disputes raise. If you would learn from Passaic the lessons which Passaic has to teach, you will have to learn to ask questions. Such questions as these:

What is the real issue at Passaic? Is it Weisbord? Is it communism? Is it labor radicalism in general? Is it any social or political philosophy? How many men will risk their jobs, how many women their homes, for a doctrine of whatever kind? Why did these 16,000 workers strike? Why have they held together through the longest strike in American textile history?

What is a living wage? Has a workingman in America the right to a living wage? Have his wife and his children the right to expect him to earn such a wage without their help? In time of industrial depression, have the stockholders the right to attempt to shift the economic loss off onto the workers? Why should there be any secrecy as to what the worker gets and what the company gets and what the stockholder gets?

Have the workers a right to organize? Must their organization be upon terms laid down by their employers? When they attempt collective bargaining, have they as much right to choose their own representatives as have the employers when, for example, they attempt to dissuade a legislature from passing a law against night work for women?

Does such a strike constitute a challenge to the churches? Why have the churches differed so in their attitudes toward the strike? Does the social creed of the churches have application to a situation such as this? What sort of a close to this strike would most protect against a similar disruption in the future? What can the churches do to secure such a close?

British Table Talk

Bay View, Michigan, July 23.

THREE IS A PLEASANT BLEND of terror and familiarity in the American railway. At first sight an Englishman is struck by the tremendous size of the engines, and the alarming bell and the general air of a juggernaut let loose; but it is soon apparent in the smaller places how informal and friendly are the ways of this mon-

On Traveling ster. Between Grand Rapids and Bay View the **In America** engine of our train had occasion to leave the rails. That meant a long delay, but nobody seemed much concerned. When we started we came to a little village called Kalkaska. The powers in charge of the train, being merciful men, decided that we should stop there and if we

wished cross the green to the restaurant, where we might breakfast. For me on the tablets of memory Kalkaska will always mean coffee and a ham sandwich. When we saw the conductor, our attendant, return to the train, we took it as a hint that we too should go. So once more the kindly monster resumed its way, and we reached Bay View about four hours late.

The Camp Meeting; Then and Now

Bay View is a place which is beautiful for situation. On every side there are indelible visions of lake and hill and forest. The bay in the hour of sunset or in the power of the thunder-storm is as sensitive as a mirror to all the many colors and

moods of the sky. The Methodist fathers who held a camp meeting here were wise men. They must have had many memories of Galilee with them. Today the old camp meeting is no more. I have wished sometimes during the week that it still could be seen and enjoyed. But that cannot be. In its place there is a very busy and varied and happy school, around which are gathered a host of people from many cities and many churches. Some are here for holiday, others for study, others for both. Some are here in quest of the refreshment of spirit which may be so easily lost in these days. The task of Dr. Kennedy and his helpers cannot be free from difficulties. They have to preserve at the heart of all the various activities the spirit and tradition of the place; needless to say that if there were no effort made to keep at the center this spiritual purpose it would soon be lost. Dr. Kennedy is making this effort and not in vain; still to this day the assembly on Sunday morning is the great hour of the week, and the evening hour of worship by the lake is evidently prized by the visitors. Thoughtful and stimulating lectures on topics of serious moment are given each morning—last week Dr. Clapp was the speaker and this week Dr. Becker. For my own part I have found the school an excellent place for putting questions to visitors from many states, and most frank and enlightening discussions have been begun and continued and left unended. The visitors listened with evident interest to a talk, politely called a lecture, which I gave upon "England Today." It is surprising how many come to me with memories of their forefathers in England. One half old member of the community fought in the battles of the Wilderness, and his great-great-grandfather surrendered with the other British soldiers at Saratoga. It was a pleasure to answer one who inquired how Sussex looked today; he left it 75 years ago. I could answer that inland Sussex, by the mercy of heaven, remained much as it was then, and as I hope it will remain.

* * *

An Indian Church

Leaving here one day we turned up a rough sandy road, passed through a plantation of maples, trying to look like pines, and came to a little church built of logs. No other habitation was in sight. Near by was a tiny graveyard with little pieces of wood to show the graves, and a few bright tiger-lilies. To this church the children of the redskins come in their automobiles to worship the Great Spirit. It was in a lovely place, but the plain unadorned building has itself a significance which no outward

beauty could increase. There were seats within it for about a hundred but it could easily hold more than that. There was a forlorn Christmas tree in a corner and a harmonium; the hymn-book was open at a hymn familiar to me from childhood, "There's a land that is fairer than day." In the Lancashire church in which my boyhood was spent the folk had the custom of singing this hymn at the close of their communion service. I can still picture those Lancashire weavers as they appeared to a small boy, singing of the land which by faith they could see. And these Ojibwa Indians cherish the same immortal hope, not of happy hunting-grounds but of the land on the other shore where they shall meet again in the family of God. The new testament on the desk was in the speech of the Ojibwa. On the wall was a plan of preachers. I should like to hear all of them but one most of all, who bears the name of Simon Peter. Early memories shine more brightly, as the years pass, and to this day the very name of these tribes carry me back to the stories of Fenimore Cooper, and to the tales of the braves who went on the war-path. How has that character been sublimated? Is there an Indian contribution to be made to the American character? Or has the redskin passed away leaving nothing to his conquerors in Canada and in the United States? And are we to allow others of the child-races to pass away in like manner?

* * *

And So Forth

The complications of the race problem are continually surprising one. To discover Jewish and Christian quarters in a lovely little lakeside resort was a curious experience. . . . The American rich men who visit Harbor Springs know how to order their summer abodes in outward dignity and beauty. . . . The news from England is not reassuring. It is a saddening thought that the coal strike is not ended, and now it seems as if it could only end in a victory through exhaustion—the worst of all victories! . . . The death of Dan Crawford removes from the mission field a man who stood by himself. He was an individualist, and yet one of the best of friends. He was given to criticizing his brother-missionaries in their policy, but he showed himself loyal and generous in his dealings with them. When the L. M. S. opened its new church in Mbereshi Dan Crawford performed the opening ceremony, and he left behind him a gift of £50. He had a big heart, and in the story of Africa he will have his place among the glorious company of the apostles.

EDWARD SHILLITO.

The Book for the Week

Giants

Makers of Freedom, by Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page. Doran, \$1.50.

WHAT do Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page try to do in their new book? Is it worth doing? How well have they done it? They endeavor to make vivid the struggle for human freedom and to portray it through the medium of condensed biographies of the leading actors in the struggle: freedom from slavery through the life of William Lloyd Garrison, freedom from ignorance and poverty through the life of Booker T. Washington, freedom from materialism through the life of Francis of Assisi, freedom from ecclesiastical bondage through the life of Martin Luther, freedom from moral and spiritual insensibility through the life of John Wesley, freedom from social injustice through the life of J. Keir Hardie, freedom from man's domination through the life of Susan B. Anthony, and freedom from international anarchy through the life of Woodrow Wilson. And then they append a chapter showing the present status of the struggle for freedom from economic, international, racial, political, and moral dangers.

This is abundantly worth doing. No matter how much we

may read of the history of a cause the thing never becomes quite real to us until we see it embodied in human form and walking around on two legs. When we behold the blood and sweat, the toil and sacrifice that have gone into it we respect it. Nobody loves facts. We all love persons. Statistics weary the flesh, but a suffering savior reaches the heart. When we see William Lloyd Garrison dragged through the streets of Boston by a howling mob because he has denounced human slavery as a sin; or a little Quaker lady sentenced to jail and denounced by press and pulpit as an advocate of adultery because she has written that women should have the right to vote; and young Booker Washington sleeping under a sidewalk on his journey to Hampton to get an education; and John Wesley barred from every church in London and going out to the masses upon the streets to preach with a fire of conviction that kindles the evangelical revival—when we see these and dozens of other scenes like them we have a deeper appreciation of the price some courageous souls have had to pay for the measure of freedom that we enjoy. We will cherish that freedom as blood-bought and precious. And something within us stirs a resolve to protect what they have won, and if possible to advance the standard a

bit farther for the sake of generations that will come after us. There is yet another value in a series of biographies of this sort quite apart from the study of the social effects of the individual lives. It is in the revelation of the springs of power in those lives. The same conditions surrounded thousands of men; why then did only these take up the torch? The answer is that these men and women had an inner light that the others did not have. We call that inner light religion. Not that others did not have religion. But the particular religion of these was of a quality that could not allow the soul to rest until it had fought its battle for freedom. Strong characters are the products of strong religions. A good biography is not complete until it makes clear not only what a man did, but why he did it, and the secret of his power.

How well have the authors done what they set out to do? It depends somewhat upon which section of the reading public they wrote for. To this reviewer it seems that they had in mind primarily such groups of young people as gather at the various Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. summer conferences. The book is admirably adapted both for reading and class discussions among such groups and is miles ahead of the type of discussion material which consists in stating a modern life problem and exchanging half-baked opinions about it. This book gives a solid foundation of facts and of personalities and of history. Hard work and a wide study of sources has gone into it. Here and there it is touched with a flaming passion as the authors seem to have caught fire from the burning zeal of the men whose lives they present. No young man or woman can read it without having his own imagination and courage kindled from the same flame.

And yet there are limitations which the authors ought never to have permitted, for they know better. They give scores of

quotations without their sources. They try to pour each life into a wooden literary mold of six compartments: What kind of world did he live in? What did he do? What did he say? What happened to him? What kind of man was he? What were the results of his life? In general a simple outline of this sort, and especially in view of the audience for which this book was written, is wholly desirable. But a human life cannot always be confined to such a mold, and the parts that boil over are often the most interesting. For some reason the authors make almost no attempt at revealing the springs of power within their heroes, other than their ancestries and their connections with this or that religious organization. They make no effort to show the growth of soul or the inner struggle which must have been dramatic in every case. They confine themselves too much to the outer events, particularly in the biography of Keir Hardie which seems in spots to be more a catalog of his official positions than a portrayal of the drama of his life. A volume of such importance should give at the end of each chapter a bibliography, but only in the last chapter is the reader so favored. And finally, no less than a dozen times, and in capital letters, they commit the blunder of asking, What kind of a man was he? In what kind of high school did they learn that?

So much for the limitations of a book which is on the whole thoroughly admirable. Sherwood Eddy and Kirby Page have a long line of far-visioned books and monographs to their credit. It would be hard to find two men who have labored more conscientiously or effectively for social righteousness. In "Makers of Freedom" they have given us their best book thus far and one which will give meat to discussions, stimulus to unselfish ambition, and encouragement to those who climb the rocky road of the pioneers.

FRED EASTMAN.

C O R R E S P O N D E N C E

Presbyterian Doctrine

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: With all due respect and with much temerity permit me to call your attention to several astounding misstatements in your editorial in this week's issue, "What is Disturbing the Episcopalians." The Episcopalians and their troubles, if they have any, do not concern me just now; but I want to make emphatic protest against your linking the Presbyterian church with the Baptists, Congregationalists, Disciples, etc., and the confusing editorial which this linking has produced.

1. You say that, like the Baptists, we "look upon the church as a voluntary association of believers," whereas the very opposite is the case! Throughout the centuries the doctrine of the Presbyterian church has been that the church is *not* a self-associated fellowship but a divine creation. Like the Episcopalians "we believe in the holy catholic church, of which Christ is the only head." (Brief Statement, General Assembly, 1902, art. 14.) In spite of your editorial we glory in being catholics!

2. You say we do not look upon the communion service as a sacrament "but as a memorial service." Shades of John Knox! The fact of the matter is we who are Presbyterians believe and teach that the Lord's supper is a sacrament instituted by our blessed Lord, and—again like the Episcopalians, strange as it may seem to you—we believe it to be "a unique channel of grace." In the words of our larger catechism (number 168) "the Lord's supper is a sacrament . . . and they that worthily partake feed upon his body and blood to their spiritual nourishment and growth in grace."

3. You say—or at least you suggest—that we believe baptism to be a mere "act of dedication," but not an "act whereby grace is directly imparted." Again I beg to take exception. What we believe and teach is that baptism is a sacrament instituted by our Lord, in which sacrament we are ingrafted into

him, receive remission of our sins by his blood and are regenerated by his Spirit. (Larger Catechism number 165.)

I am not ignorant of the fact that there are those—and your acquaintances may be among them—who do not know what the Presbyterian church does teach with regard to these exceedingly vital doctrines; who do not know what the Presbyterian church in her confession and catechisms declares so plainly; but I think it will be found that what I have written above is much nearer the truth than what appears in your editorial.

Grand Rapids, Mich.

JOHN ROBERTSON MCMAHON.

Another Canadian Subscriber

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: During the last sixty years I have, at one time or another, been a subscriber to at least a dozen of the leading religious weeklies, beginning with Henry C. Bowen's Independent, and The Christian Century comes, in my judgment, by far and away, the nearest to "holding the balance even" and giving its readers the facts, and facts, as Dean Inge says, are sacred things. It was Mr. Vicker's letter cancelling his subscription to The Christian Century for publishing Barnes' war guilt articles and Alva W. Taylor's articles upon the coal strike in England that prompted me to write this letter. Among other things those were the very articles I wanted to thank The Christian Century for publishing.

I have the honor of possessing a medal awarded to me by Queen Victoria for military services voluntarily rendered and so, I hope I cannot be justly suspected of lacking in patriotism. There can be no hope of any advance in Christian civilization so long as people are determined to remain so obsessed by either religious or patriotic bigotry as to deliberately shut their minds to the knowledge of the truth. I am grateful, as I reflect, that it was a Canadian, John S. Ewart, jurist and king's counselor,

August 5, 1926

THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY

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who was among the first to reveal the facts as to who the guilty nations are that started the great war.

In a sermon by the Rev. Dr. Orchard, on "The Psychology of Hate" delivered in London in 1922 under the shadow of Buckingham palace I find the following: "Everything evil that the German did was used as propaganda; anything good that any German did was carefully concealed. In addition, many things were invented that never happened at all, like the cutting off of women's breasts and babies' hands, and the employment of the cadaver factory where the bodies of dead soldiers were melted down for fat. Any suggestion that we should still love our enemies was swept aside as dangerous nonsense, and anyone who refused to join in the general hate was looked upon as a suspect, and indeed classed with the Germans as an object of hate. Conscientious objectors were regarded as worse than Huns."

At the first Canadian national exhibition held in Toronto after the great war there was exhibited, off in a corner, a reproduction in papier-mâche of the crucifixion of a Canadian soldier on a barn door by the Germans. There isn't a rag of truth to cover the irrational nakedness of that infamous lie. No such thing ever happened.

Guelph, Ont., Canada

W. MITCHELL

The President and Prohibition

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Sometimes Homer nods. In your splendid editorial on "Mr. Coolidge and the Present Crisis" you let slip an amazing error when you say: "On the assumption that he really does not believe in the law, or that he is hopeless of its enforcement, his course is beyond criticism." Then you give his course a superb and unanswerable criticism concluding, "The moral weight of the President's whole-hearted personal prestige flung into the balance would be decisive." This is immediately followed by, "Again we say, if the President is of doubtful mind on the subject, his silence and his personal non-entity are beyond criticism." Mirabile dictu! Then any oath may be taken with mental reservations and all oaths of office are perfunctory and "merely official." The one excuse which can be urged for President Coolidge, or any President for that matter, only tends to show that your criticism is entirely just, your appeal altogether proper and irresistible. The fact that enforcement of law is so largely in the control of district attorneys whom he names but who are selected and really "appointed" by United States senators, only makes it the more incumbent that he speak out and lead on.

Chicago.

WILEY W. MILLS.

Leaning Over Backwards

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: Isn't it quite possible that The Christian Century's position as to making public the names of all contributors to anti-saloon league funds is so straight as to lean over backwards?

Does anyone suppose for a moment that the expressed suspicion of the wets to the effect that those funds are the contribution of bootleggers, moonshiners and the like is anything other than the veriest nonsense? That the anti-saloon league should be held to the strictest account for its manner of spending the money contributed to its cause is very well but that all contributors should have their names published would be a requirement rendering the contribution too great a sacrifice for many to make.

A man may contribute to republican or democrat campaign funds and incur no odium in the community where he lives, but to be known as a contributing dry is to incur the opposition of the combined wet forces in a most serious way in many communities. I have known of men driven from business by the boycott following the knowledge that they were contributors to the dry cause or workers for it.

The anti-saloon league offers an instrumentality whereby the

grocer or the dry goods merchant may contribute to the dry cause without danger of the boycott. Why should the friends of prohibition insist that the contributor to that cause should incur the risk of financial ruin or else not contribute at all?

La Crosse, Wis.

E. C. DIXON.

Elusive General Feng

EDITOR THE CHRISTIAN CENTURY:

SIR: In view of the general haziness of all news coming from China the following quotation from a letter written by a Methodist missionary in Peking, dated June 5, may be of interest. The missionary in question has been resident in China for more than twenty years and has had rather close contacts with General Feng and the evangelistic work among his men. "In regard to your questions about the Feng army: 'Was Feng around Peking?' So far as I have heard—and you know that we hear a great deal about his crowd as we have so many men in his army—Feng has not been in Peking at any time since I came back last August. 'Did he take any active part in the fighting?' He was not at the front at any time but he is said to have given a great many orders and he had to sign all the important messages. 'Who was actually in command of his men?' We heard last fall that in the first part of the fight for Tientsin General Chang Chih-chiang was in command of the troops, but when it came down to the scratch General Lu Chung-lin was in command, and many of the Chinese think that he is the best actual field commander now in China. He was never beaten and withdrew in perfect order, but the enemy was advancing from all sides and he would have been overwhelmed, if he had not retreated. The interference of the foreign powers at Taku really had nothing to do with the defeat of Feng. The Chinese did not know when they were well off, and the devils from hell in the form of General Chang Tso-lin and his allies have come. Such cruelty and robbing even the Chinese had never thought about, for these soldiers have advanced without a wagon train to feed them and they have eaten up the country like locusts. There has been a great deal of excitement and things are not settled yet. The First Kuo Min-chün can fight better than any army in China, and they can certainly come back some day."

The above gives food for much thought in regard to the situation in China, but I wish to give expression to only two. How much was Feng's defeat due to the fact that he was not near the scene of actual fighting at any time? Is not General Lu one of the men who will figure large in the future of China?

Chicago.

W. W. DAVIS.

THE SUNDAY SCHOOL

Lesson for August 15. Lesson text: Exodus 18:13-24.

Wise Counsel

"HE DID not know team-work," say some of the critics of the late President Wilson, and not unkindly critics either. This is the danger of an unusually capable man; he wants to do it all himself. If he does it himself he feels that it is done in the best way and again it seems easier to do a thing than to get another to do it for you. Napoleon had the rare quality of inspiring his generals. He would walk into their tents on the eve of an important battle, and without a word gaze at them, until

Contributors to This Issue

MICHAEL GRAHAM, Victoria, B. C.

FRED EASTMAN, professor in Chicago theological seminary; former managing editor Christian Work; contributing editor The Christian Century; author (under pseudonym) "Fear God in Your Own Village."

they were charged with deathless enthusiasm. I know the manager of a great department store; he possesses the ability to choose and guide the best helpers. A friend of mine was offered twenty-five thousand dollars a year to go to New York and "put his feet under a mahogany desk." Of course his capable head would be above it, but what the firm wanted was a "big boss" who could think through the problems and select men to do his will. The pastor of a large mid-western church had no assistant minister, but on a given day thirty-one volunteer workers appeared at his church—that was his secret, he organized his church. The pastor of the First Baptist church in Jamestown, N. Y., can reach every member of his large church through other persons in half an hour on any day. Immensely capable himself, he is wise enough to work through other people. The most serious problem in a large church is to find work for all the members, but it can and must be done. Wilson's health broke and he died at a most crucial moment in the world's history. Suppose he had sent Root and Taft to Paris. Suppose many able men had been taken into his confidence and commissioned to do his will, might he not have lived longer and accomplished more? With all of his splendid idealism, with his well-trained mind, with his passion for the league of nations, he might have been spared. The temptation of men of exceptional ability is to do too much themselves. Moses was such a man, but his father-in-law saw that he was breaking himself down by overwork. He counseled him to do the larger things, delegating to humbler men the lesser tasks. He suggested that Moses mediate between the people and God and that he act as judge in the most important affairs, but that all the rest be left to others. Moses again proved his wisdom by accepting good advice. Many men consider it a compliment to be told that they are working too hard and then buckle in all the harder and kill themselves the sooner. It hurts a capable man to see a fool bungle a job. That is usually the reason he hesitates to let go of the department. To see some unintelligent and shiftless

man muddle along, failing to get results, antagonizing his helpers and almost stopping progress in his vicinity, is more than many a high-mettled man can endure. He thrusts the inefficient man aside and proceeds to make that department pay. But if one is truly great he can make an army out of any kind of material. If one is strong enough and patient enough he can master even the most hopeless stuff. Edward Rowland Sill sings of the prince who won the battle with the broken sword which a coward had thrown away. Given any normal, average human material the big man can enthuse, plan, guide and mobilize it in such a way as to secure large results.

It is worthy of notice that Jethro considered the most important business of a man of highest capability to be that of keeping the paths open to heaven. In the quaint phrase, "Be thou for the people to Godward and bring thou the causes unto God," this priest of the vast silence, this follower of the god of the hills, stressed the all-important note—the leader must keep the God idea alive, must keep his people in touch with the righteousness, holiness, justice and mercy of God. (Last quarter I was criticised for not defining the term "God" at every turn. Of course we all know that here we are not dealing with the "Father" of Jesus Christ. The idea of God in the Bible is progressive. Probably Moses accepted the Kenite religion while in Midian and its effect upon Israel was marked.)

At Stockholm the King of Sweden impresses one with his religious convictions; the Crown Prince attends nearly all of the sessions mingling with the people freely. It is significant when the king opens the paths Godward. Gladstone, on the busiest day of his parliamentary life, crossed three times to St. Margaret's to kneel in prayer. What a tragedy to become so engrossed in petty affairs that one cannot lead the way to God! It was against this that the wise and silent Jethro protested. Big business men are trying to teach their pastors this very lesson. At a state banquet of bankers the speaker was directly requested to speak on "God." Men are hungry for the bread of life.

JOHN R. EWERS.

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NEWS of the CHRISTIAN WORLD

A DEPARTMENT OF INTERDENOMINATIONAL ACQUAINTANCE

Mexican Churches Are Closed

The contest between the papacy and the Mexican government took a new turn on Aug. 1 when, in obedience to an episcopal letter of the Mexican hierarchy, all churches were closed to public worship. Only private prayers "confided to the care of the faithful" will be permitted. The letter is signed by the eight archbishops and thirty bishops of the church in Mexico. Excommunication is threatened against all those who aid in the execution of the government decrees against the church, who bring bishops before civil authorities, who usurp properties of the church, who contract matrimony outside the church, and who educate their children in non-Catholic schools. The letter clearly implies the excommunication of government officials. The arrest of the signers of the letter is reported in contemplation by the government authorities. Protestant churches served by foreign-born pastors are equally affected by the government order. No foreign-born minister of religion is permitted to preside over a religious gathering.

Dr. Peet Sails For Near East

Dr. W. W. Peet, newly appointed representative of the federal council of churches, sailed for his new post in Athens on July 20. A luncheon was given in his honor before his departure by a number of prominent churchmen interested in the near east. Dr. F. B. Carruthers, professor of religious education in Occidental college, accompanied Dr. Peet. He will make a study of the educational problem in the near east and report his findings to the near east relief.

English Methodists Approach Reunion

The union of Methodism in England was brought one step nearer in the annual conference of Wesleyan Methodists held at York in June. Against the opposition of a minority the conference authorized further steps in the direction of a parliamentary enabling act to which the other Methodist bodies are already committed. The opposition to the union among the Wesleyans is prompted chiefly by the concern that a Methodist union may hinder an ultimate reunion with the church of England. These opponents were partially appeased in the June conference by sentiments on the part of the majority in sympathy with a more inclusive eventual union of the churches.

Catholic Temperance Forces Convene

Archbishop Curley of Baltimore has invited the Catholic Total Abstinence union to hold a meeting in Washington, D. C., beginning on Aug. 9. The temperance advocates in the Catholic church have not been as active in the past few years as they once were. The meeting is designed to revive the interest of Catholics in the temperance cause at "a critical moment in

the world movement against alcoholism." Rev. P. J. O'Callahan, of New Jersey, is national president of the union. The late Cardinal Gibbons was its founder.

Brethren Celebrate Fifty Years

The Church of the Brethren, generally known as the Dunkard, is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the beginning of educational work in the denomination. In the past fifty years ten colleges have been organized, and a total of 5,000 students are today enrolled in the Dunkard educational institutions. The best known edu-

cational leader in the denomination is former Governor Brumbaugh of Pennsylvania, who is now, as he was before his governorship, president of Juanita college, Huntington, Pa.

Filipino Pastor Recalled To Manila

Rev. Enrique S. Sobrepena, pastor of the only Filipino church in America, located in Brooklyn, has been called by a church in Manila and has accepted the call. The Brooklyn church numbers about 500 members drawn from the 3,500 Filipinos in New York. The church is unique

Commission Reports on Disciples Missions

FTER almost six months of study a special commission has reported to the United Christian Missionary society on the condition of the missions of the Disciples of Christ in the Philippines, China and Japan. The commission was composed of Rev. Cleveland Kleihauer, Seattle, Wash.; Rev. John R. Golden, Decatur, Ill., and Rev. Robert N. Simpson, Birmingham, Ala. Its report is embodied in a typewritten document of 31 pages, and gives a clean bill of health to the work of the society. This investigation came as the result of years of agitation within the denomination, in which denominational conservatives seized on alleged practices on mission fields as a cause for recommending to American churches that they cease to support the society's program.

OPEN MEMBERSHIP

What is known as "open membership" has been the hot point in the present discussion. The commission examines in detail allegations that missionaries in the Philippines and China have allowed unimmersed persons to become members of the Disciples church, and reports that, with the exception of one or two local wanderings from the strict denominational practice which were quickly rectified, there is neither practice nor advocacy of open membership on the part of missionaries. It is said that in some places there are students or others, converted in other churches, who are urged to take advantage of the spiritual advantages offered by congregations of the Disciples but that these are never, without immersion, received into actual church membership.

Criticisms of comity engagements entered into with other missions, particularly in the Philippines, are met in two ways. It is said that the first important agreement of this kind, made with the Presbyterians, was the work of the Rev. Leslie Wolfe, whose recent recall by the society has made him a good deal of a martyr in the eyes of the denomination's conservatives. And it is further said that the comity agreement with the Methodists, which has been most seriously attacked, gave full protection and the provision of adequate worship facilities to the Disciples congregations involved.

The commission senses the difficulties, particularly in China and Japan, in attempting to carry on missionary work in the midst of a rising tide of nationalistic consciousness. It declares that there must be no attempt to fasten western church forms on an eastern church, and refers to the failure of the attempt of the council of Jerusalem to enforce circumcision in the Gentile churches founded by St. Paul as authority for this judgment. There is, however, no specific statement of what aspects of western church life the commission has in mind.

The educational difficulties now being faced in China and Japan are clearly outlined. Here again, however, the commission largely contents itself with depicting the problem, making a few general comments on it, without giving any clear advice as to what policy should be. There seems to be an acceptance of the plan of union missionary institutions in the higher grades, but the question as to whether these schools should meet government regulations in China, or should forego government recognition, is left open.

CRITICISM

But three persons are censured specifically: Rev. Leslie Wolfe, who has recently been recalled by the society from work in Manila; Rev. John T. Brown, who made a personal investigation of the mission fields several years ago and printed a report which has been widely used by the denomination's conservatives, and the Rev. Mr. Baird, a missionary formerly stationed at Luchowfu, China, who is said actually to have practiced open membership. It is apparent, however, that the commission feels that there is danger lest the foreign mission enterprise in oriental lands become too much absorbed in the securing and control and administration of properties. In Japan, in particular, the commission suggests that evangelistic work has been neglected in order to push educational, and that the number of church accessions has not been as large as might reasonably have been hoped. On many fields it is said that there is need of more confidence and goodwill between missionaries, as well as between missionaries and national workers.

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in its constituency, most of the members being young men, many of them students in New York schools. It now feels embarrassed by the resignation of its pastor as it will be difficult to find a successor.

Church Programs on Radio Surveyed

A prominent radio broadcasting station recently made an inquiry into the place of religion on broadcasting programs. Of 180 stations participating in the survey, 103 reported that religious services were regularly upon their programs. Fourteen of the total number are owned and operated by some church organization. Eighty-six stations broadcast church services on Sunday; the remainder have special religious programs during the week. Several stations reported resentment and jealousy on the part of churches which were not included in the broadcasting program, the complaint being that members of their churches remained at home to tune in on the big church services. Twenty-two sta-

tions have religious programs prepared at the station and designed purely for the radio audience. Several stations express the opinion that broadcasting religious services encourages religious tolerance.

Dr. Adolf Deissmann to Lecture at Oberlin

It is fortunate that from time to time distinguished European scholars are able to come to America and lecture in educational institutions here. This is the more so when they are able to give intelligible and interesting lectures in English. Announcement is made by the graduate school of theology at Oberlin that Dr. Adolf Deissmann of the University of Berlin has been secured for a ten weeks' lecture course during the second semester of the next college year. He is to deliver there the special course of Haskell lectures on "The Influence of the Graeco-Roman World on Christianity," and in addition will give two regular courses in the school of theology, one on "The World of Paul,"

We Are Discontented Optimists, Says Bishop

Speaking at Westminster college, Cambridge, England, recently, Bishop E. C. Barnes, of Birmingham, expressed the conviction that the difficulties of the church are temporary and that religious life is gradually adjusting itself to the need of civilization. "I very much doubt," said the bishop, "whether the so-called religious chaos of countries where the Reformation triumphed is the unmixed evil that it is sometimes alleged to be. The situation constitutes a continuous challenge to men who regard it aright, forcing them to seek truth, to avoid narrow bigotry, to discriminate important principles from fanciful prejudices. There can, moreover, be the sympathy and friendly regard between members of different communions which indicates the sort of unity really worth having. From such sympathetic understanding a common mind can be evolved from which formal unity may result. We see this process now taking place in many places among the English-speaking peoples.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM INEVITABLE

"Naturally, there are those who feel strongly the need of order and would welcome a return to the days when the iron hand of ecclesiastical authority enforced nominal unity. No such return is possible. Religious freedom was the inevitable outcome of the method and spirit of the Reformation, though many of the reformers did not perceive the fact. Men differ in temper, ability, knowledge and spiritual insight. Spiritual allegiance must be sincere or it is worthless. If sincere it must be unforced. It must result from education, persuasion, example. All that any particular religious communion can do is to resist such changes within itself as it deems harmful to its own particular witness to truth.

"Ours is the discontent of optimists and not the dull despair which afflicts a decaying civilization. I believe that recognition of this fact is the key to the religious situation in England today. The churches are criticized because so much is expected of them. Far from deeming religion a

mere sedative, men and women feel instinctively that in Christianity there is a spiritual power which organized communions fail to utilize. Young men of quality do not enter our ministries in sufficient numbers because other occupations afford opportunities of religious service which are more attractive. Hence, among our recruits there are too many youth of crude and unimaginative piety. But when the present turmoil ceases, as it will sooner or later, the need of the influence of organized religion and the value of the trained Christian teacher will be more clearly perceived. I am convinced that, before long, the new presentation of the gospel, which is now being fashioned by our leading thinkers, will establish itself. A new *zeitgeist* will then be created.

NEW TYPE REVIVALS

"I think that we must expect for a time a succession of popular sub-Christian revivals of primitive religion. Concurrently with them there will be a reformation of the Christian faith, which it will be the duty of organized Christian communions to make and preserve. This better sort of influence will spread through school teachers and journalists to the community as a whole. To the leaders of the churches we must, in the main, look for constructive thought. But it will be purveyed to the people as a whole far more by the school teacher and the journalist than by the mission preacher of former epochs. I doubt if we shall again get a religious revival of the eighteenth century type. Doubtless, great wireless preachers will emerge, whose fame will rival that of the film favorites. But, now that education is so widespread, the purely emotional appeal will be inadequate. The preacher will have to build on a framework which scholars and men of science have fashioned, if his message is to be of permanent value. Confident appeals of the ignorant to the ignorant and of those who like to toy with superstition to those who are greedy for it—such will continue. But the slow pressure of educated opinion will prevail against them."

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and the second on "Philippians." Dr. Deissmann is one of the best known of German theologians. Through his efforts channels were kept open between American and German scholars during the difficult days of the world war. Dr. Deissmann's place has been outstanding in the field of new testament and theological studies, and his presence in an American institution is a matter of congratulation.

Abbe Portal Is Dead

The Abbe Portal, who was delegated by the late Cardinal Mercier to continue the discussions with Anglicans which he and Lord Halifax had begun in the interest of a reunion between Rome and the English church, died on July 2. It is feared that his death, coming so soon after that of the cardinal, will seriously affect the Malines conversations from which Anglo-Catholics have been expecting much.

Princeton Investigation Committee Appointed

The committee which is to investigate conditions in Princeton Theological seminary in behalf of the general assembly of the Presbyterian church has been appointed by Dr. W. O. Thompson, moderator.

ator of the general assembly. By resolution of the assembly, Dr. Thompson is himself to be chairman of the committee. The other members of the committee are: Dr. George N. Luccock, Wooster, O.; Dr. Walter L. Whallon, Newark, N. J.; Senator Robert P. Ernst, Covington, Ky., and Thomas E. D. Bradley, Chicago. The resolution authorizing the investigation grew out of the widespread opposition to ratification of Professor Machen's appointment to the chair of apologetics.

Women Appeal To President

The Women's interdenominational foreign mission conference, including delegates from ten denominations and meeting at Northfield, Mass., July 20, passed resolutions asking the president to make a definite statement on the possibility of enforcing the eighteenth amendment. "In view of the persistent and widespread propaganda aiming at the annulment of the eighteenth amendment we appeal to the president to correct the impression which is being given to the nation and to the world that this nation is powerless to enforce its righteous laws," the resolution declared. Over 1,500 delegates attended the conference.

Lloyd George Appeals To Churches

Speaking to the Christian Endeavor convention which convened in London on July 19 Lloyd George praised the churches for their intervention in the coal strike and said, "I wish to God they had intervened in 1914." Referring to the present situation in Europe the former premier told the young people, "Europe has been drinking of armaments until it has gotten delirium tremens and it is drinking secretly now. We must rid ourselves of the idea that anything can be settled by force. Whether guns or cannon, strikes or lock-outs, they belong to the barbarism of the past."

Anglo-Catholics Stress Politics

The annual Anglo-Catholic congress within the church of England, convening in London in the first week of July, revealed the strong tendency to social radicalism which characterizes the high church party in Great Britain. One meeting was devoted to the housing problem and another to unemployment and the living wage. The latter meeting was addressed by Miss Margeret Bondfield, Bishop Gore, Mr. Sidney Dark and Canon Donaldson. A large portion of the program was devoted to political and economic problems.

Declare Picture of Virgin Weeps

Samarate, a small town near Milan, Italy, is being besieged by pilgrims who seek to see a hitherto obscure fresco of the virgin and child on the wall of a house there. Red liquid is said to flow from the eyes of the virgin. The phenomenon, first noticed by a workingman, is now viewed by thousands. Women of the city declare it is a sign of the virgin's anger because the men of the town swear so much. Vatican authorities have promised an examination

Church Commercialized, Minister Charges

WRITING for the *Witness*, Episcopal weekly, Rev. Hexter Baxter, of Minneapolis, has this to say as to what is the matter with his and other churches:

"I am in my forty-third year of service in this city and diocese, and from my observation and experience, the Episcopal church (other churches also) have become commercialized. No longer is one glad of the privilege of rendering a service as a free-will offering unto Almighty God. Such persons give you to understand that such service should be paid. There is no longer such a thing as gladness in service in the church. Self-denial and poverty are the seed germs of the Christian life. They have been deposed and displaced by selfishness of the worst type, for there is selfishness in the affairs of the kingdom of grace and Almighty God. There is too much scanning the horizon today, by bishops and clergy, for big salaries. The writer was shocked when he understood, after the last general convention, that there had been voted to the presiding bishop the equivalent of \$25,000 a year.

OPENING BISHOPS' CRUSADE

"I say, advisedly, that is an outrage in the church of God. We are building up a privileged class in the American church. If the presiding bishop would send forth a letter of greeting to the church at the opening of the bishops' crusade, saying that he was relinquishing to the missionary work of the church all his salary excepting about \$10,000 a year, such a greeting in the name of God to the Episcopal church in America would cause such a thrill throughout the church from center to circumference and its uttermost mission, as it has never experienced before in its history.

"We have here in this city a clergyman very much in the limelight, who, rumors

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of the "miracle." The house upon the wall of which the fresco appears was to be demolished shortly. Now village opinion firmly opposes the demolition.

**Accepts Pennsylvania
Secretaryship**

Rev. Ray Freeman Jenney has resigned the pastorate of the Presbyterian church of Galesburg, Ill., to accept the general secretaryship of the Christian association of the University of Pennsylvania. Mr. Jenney held a pastorate in New York city before coming to the Galesburg church, which is closely connected with Knox college.

**Texas Pastor Takes
Birmingham Church**

Dr. Arthur J. Moore of the Travis Park Methodist church, San Antonio, Texas, has succeeded the late Dr. George R. Stuart at the First Methodist church, Birmingham, Ala. In the six years Dr. Moore has been in San Antonio he has built up a membership of more than 3,000. The church to which he goes has the largest membership in its denomination.

**Dr. Grant to National
Council**

Dr. Frederick C. Grant has accepted a position with the department of religious education in the national council of the Episcopal church. Dr. Grant recently resigned the deanship of Bexley hall, the theological school in connection with Kenyon college, Gambier, O.

**Holds Evangelism Will
End Earthquakes**

The Presbyterian, conservative weekly of that denomination, comments editorially on the recent earthquake in the Aegean archipelago. After reviewing disasters of a similar nature the paper says that "Christ declared that this age, with all its catastrophes, shall come to an end when the gospel has been preached to all nations and not before." The editor exclaims: "Let us push the gospel to the end of the earth in order that these disasters with their suffering and horror may be no more."

**Southern Leader for
Presbyterian Union**

Dr. Thornton Whaling, professor of systematic theology in the Louisville theology seminary and former moderator of the general assembly of the southern Presbyterian church, has come out in favor of organic union between the northern and southern branches of that church. Until recently Dr. Whaling advocated some form of federation rather than organic union. He now takes the position that the practical differences between the two bodies have been removed and holds that the two general assemblies should declare in favor of union and then appoint a committee to carry their declarations into effect.

**Baptist Conference
Uses Discussions**

The increasing use of democratic discussion methods in large conventions was illustrated at the national convention of the Baptist Young Peoples' Union which was held in the First Methodist church of Los Angeles in July. Four forums were

conducted throughout the period of the conference and those responsible for the assembly express themselves as delighted with the interest of the young people in the discussions. Rev. C. O. Johnson, of Tacoma, Wash., in the keynote address, declared that mechanical inventions no longer offered thrills to young people. The real thrill which they were seeking would be found in the difficult task of making civilization and all its relationships conform to the spirit of Jesus. Rev. W. S. Abernathy of Washington, D. C., gave a series of addresses on "Knighthood."

**Negro Choirs Hold
Singing Contest**

Ten thousand people gathered at the Hollywood bowl on July 12 to hear the choirs of ten Negro churches of Los Angeles. Each choir sang "Steal Away to Jesus," together with one number of its own selection. The choir of the First African Methodist church was awarded a silver cup.

**Scotch Seminary
In Holy Land**

The established and the free Presbyterian churches of Scotland are uniting in a project of establishing a theological seminary in the holy land. The institution will be a hospice for Scotch visitors in Palestine as well as a school. The plan is to encourage Scotch theological students to take their last year of work in the new institution. It will be a memorial to the Scotch soldiers who fell in the expedition which freed Palestine from Turkish rule.

**Jenny Lind's Church
Revived**

A nation-wide effort among Episcopalians is being made to rebuild St. Ansgarius church, Chicago, the church which a half century ago attained prominence as "Jenny Lind's Church." The famous singer contributed generously to the first building and the chalice costing over \$1,000 was given by her. The congregation, consisting of Swedes, disbanded some years ago but has been revived and is now flourishing.

**Will Study African
Problems in Belgium**

An international conference on Christian missions in Africa is being convened by the International Missionary council at Le Zoute, Belgium, from Sept. 14 to 21. Membership will be restricted to 250 persons, 200 of whom will be nominated by the missionary societies of Great Britain, North America, and the continent of Europe, and 50 places will be left for government officials, educational specialists, and African guests. The chairman will be Dr. Donald Fraser, late of Nyasaland, and now one of the secretaries of the United Free church of Scotland missions. The main headings of the proceedings will be "The Specific Task of Christian Missions in Africa" and "The Relation between Christian Missions and other Forces Impinging on African Life." Among those who are expected to take part are Mr. J. H. Oldham, Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones, Dr. Anson Phelps-Stokes, Dr. D. Westermann of Berlin, Bishop Campbell of Liberia, and Dr. W. C. Willoughby, formerly of Tiger-

kloof and now of the Kennedy school of missions, U. S. A.

Summer Conferences Still Growing

Reports from many sources indicate that the number of summer conferences under religious auspices being conducted during the present season is in excess of any previous year and that registration up to date is from ten to fifteen per cent higher than in the past. The Presbyterians are now said to conduct 100 such conferences, the Episcopalians 72, the Baptists 65, the Methodists 114, and other denominations smaller numbers. There are, besides, many conferences under interdenominational auspices as well as the extensive series of camps and conferences conducted by the Y. M. C. A. and Y. W. C. A. It seems likely that taking into consideration all the persons who are in the camp, conferences and chautauquas which have a religious interest, there will be at least a million to listen to some form of religious instruction during the present summer season. If the average expenditure involved is \$25, which seems well within the probable fact, it will be seen that an enormous sum is now being voluntarily paid out for instruction in matters concerning the life of the church. So large, indeed, has grown this whole movement, that it is now necessary for many of the conferences to set aside part of their time

for normal classes in which to train conference leaders.

Pittsburgh Pastor Will Tour Orient

Dr. Hugh T. Kerr, pastor of the Shadyside Presbyterian church, Pittsburgh, has been granted a four months' vacation to begin in September. Dr. Kerr will accompany Dr. Robert E. Speer, secretary of the Presbyterian foreign missionary board, on a tour through Japan, Korea and China.

Outline Catholic Attitude Toward Spiritualism

Father Thurston, a Jesuit priest, is quoted in America, Roman Catholic weekly, as warning writers on that subject from taking a definite position in regard to the possibilities of spiritualism. It is said that Catholics are "not justified in speaking confidently regarding the limitations or the range of the activities of angels, demons and disincarnate human souls, notably the unbaptized, who, after all, form numerically the vast majority of the human race." Father Thurston summarizes the official Catholic position on this question as follows: "First, the church has not pronounced upon the essential nature of spiritualistic phenomena; second, the church forbids the general body of the faithful to take any part in spiritualistic practices; third, in the manifestations which occur, the church sus-

pects that diabolic agencies may *per accidens* intervene."

Oriental Conference Plans Second Meeting

An oriental conference will be held at Racine, Wis., Sept. 8-14. The proposed conference grows out of an experiment of a similar nature which was made in Racine last winter. The results were so gratifying to the fifty or more oriental students who attended that the fall conference was planned. Mr. Haridas T. Muzumdar, of India, is chairman and Mrs. S. C. Cheng, of China, is vice-chairman of the conference. Mrs. George Biller of Taylor hall, an Episcopal hostel, is largely responsible for this hopeful enterprise.

New Excavations In Palestine

Prof. Melvin G. Kyle, president of Xenia theological seminary, has uncovered the ruins of the biblical city of Kirjath-Sepher. The Xenia expedition which Dr. Kyle heads has just returned to America after a winter of excavation. The efforts of the expedition resulted in historical evidence that the old city was built by the Canaanites about 2000 B. C. or 700 years before the conquest of Canaan by the Israelites. The city was burned five times between its founding and its final destruction. This is the city referred to in the old testament as the "walled city."

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